CŪLAVAMSA

BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE

MAHĀVAMSA

PART I

TRANSLATED BY

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AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

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Pronounce *C* in Cūlavaṃsa and in all Pali words as *ch* in *church*; thus: Chūlavangsa.

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To

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

in sincere veneration
and friendship

W. G.

FOREWORD

On completing the first volume of my translation of the Cūlavaṃsa, I feel it to be my duty above all to tender my most hearty thanks to the Government of Ceylon for the opportunity it gave me of visiting the Island before beginning my work. In Colombo Mr. M. A. Young, at that time First Assistant Colonial Secretary, arranged matters for me in the kindest manner.

My thanks are no less due to my esteemed colleagues in England whose friendly advocacy and recommendation did so much towards furthering affairs.

Without the journey which took me into all parts of the Island, I should have been without that vivid idea of the country and the people which is necessary for the understanding of their history. Without it too, I should have lost that mass of information and the stimulating intercourse which met me in Ceylon from the most varied quarters.

I mention in the first place with special pleasure and sincere gratitude the present Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. A. M. Hocart, whose lively and intelligent interest in my aims and tasks I shall always remember, as well as that of his temporary representative, Mr. Sudbury. In their company I was able to visit a series of important ruins partly in very out of the way places, and so familiarize myself with some of the most pressing questions connected with ancient Sinhalese architecture.

In the same way I owe warm thanks to Mr. H. W. Codrington. Himself the greatest authority on the history and mediaeval topography of Ceylon, he gave me much help and ready en-

couragement, as a glance at the notes to my translation will show.

Mr. P. E. Pieris also smoothed many a path for me and to his good offices I owe many a valuable connection. Of my old friends I may mention lastly in this place the indefatigable Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara. I must add however, that wherever I came, new Sinhalese friends — amongst others I may mention Ratemahatmaya Bibile — gave me willing and active support.

My principle in working has been to make my translation approach as closely as possible to the original. We must as far as is practicable, know exactly what the chroniclers say. The aesthetic value of the Cūlavaṃsa as a literary work is small. The carrying out of this principle has been made more difficult by the fact that the German text has had to be re-translated into English. I am however greatly indebted to my co-worker, Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers, for most kindly making my principle her own, in doing which I believe her to have achieved full success.

One difficulty met with by every translator of an Indian text lies in the multitude of the synonyms. It is impossible for us to imitate them. Consider for a moment the many terms for "King". In order to be as fair as possible to the conditions of the original, we have reserved, though with occasional exceptions, the translation "King" for *rājan*. Combinations with *pati* (like *dharaṇīpati* etc.) we have rendered by "ruler", those with *pa* or *pāla* (like *bhūmipa* etc.) by "monarch", other terms by "sovereign". That proper names with variants such as *Parakkamabāhu* and *-bhuja* have been unified will probably meet with approval.

The second volume will contain a detailed chronological introduction with a list of the kings, as well as a full index. As the German text is almost finished and the English rendering already in progress, we should not now have to wait long for the completion of the whole work.

The last ten chapters it is true, are not an unmixed joy for the translator. The language is faulty, the style clumsy,

often very stilted. Instead of the long-winded, stereotyped descriptions of festivals and bounties, one would like to hear more of those outward events which just in the 16 th, 17 th and 18 th centuries shook the old Sinhalese kingdom to its foundations. To make good the omissions of the Chronicle here would mean writing a new history of Ceylon. This has already been done by more competent scholars and where it seemed desirable, I have referred to their works in my notes.

Lastly I would ask the reader before using the book, to be kind enough to consult the appendices and to take note of corrections and also of emendations in the original text.

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WILH. GEIGER.

alone the history of Ceylon takes on a hue not quite in keeping with fact Unfortunately we are not in a position to fill up satisfactorily the gaps in the historical tradition Later Sinhalese writings are not essentially different in character and the inscriptions which would undoubtedly be our best source, are unfortunately occupied almost entirely with ecclesiastical matters Nevertheless certain of these give much desired confirmation of purely secular events mentioned in the Cūlavamsa Their importance for its chronology will be dealt with later

A further point Already Mahānāma the author of the older Mahāvaṃsa, was fain to create a *kāvya*, an artificial poem, and he was no stranger to the rules of *alaṃkāra*. But this is true in a still higher degree of Dhammakitti He was a man of literary culture I believe I have proved in the notes to my translation of 66 129 ff that he must have been acquainted with Indian Nīti literature, perhaps with its chief work, the Arthaśastra of Kauṭalya These literary reminiscences were of course not without influence on his attitude towards historical events and persons

Above all is this true of the personality of Parakkamabāhu I should like to elaborate this point further For Bishop Copleston is perfectly right in regarding the history of Parakkama as the real kernel, the main subject of the Cūlavaṃsa, especially of the first part which was the work of Dhammakitti, and in speaking of a Parakkama epic[1]

Now if we look closely at the figure of Parakkamabāhu as it meets us in the Cūlavaṃsa, especially at the period before he achieved universal sovereignty, we find ourselves faced by a series of contradictions and improbabilities We are convinced that things did not happen historically in that way Nor is it possible to form a harmonious and credible picture of the single acts attributed to the youthful Parakkama

The explanation lies in Dhammakitti's conception of the way in which his task was to be achieved From literary

[1] JRAS. C B nr 44 1893 p 60 ff.

sources, from what he had read he drew an ideal picture of an Indian king. The man whose glorification was his aim must correspond to this picture. He must have all the qualities belonging to an Indian king and employ all the methods of statecraft which political science prescribes or recommends. All these individual traits the compiler combines with the data furnished by tradition, without question as to probability or improbability of these.

According to the Cūlavaṃsa the youth of Parakkama was passed somewhat as follows:

Parakkamabāhu is the son of the eldest of the three brothers Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha who rule over Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa in opposition to Vikkamabāhu who holds the royal dignity in virtue of his possession of Rājaraṭṭha with its capital Pulatthinagara. Parakkama's father Mānābharaṇa has retained as his share the important province of Dakkhiṇadesa, Rohaṇa is divided between the two younger brothers.

The birth of the prince is accompanied by all kinds of miraculous phenomena. Vikkamabāhu is informed of it and wishes to bring the boy up at his court in order to make him his heir instead of his own son. Mānābharaṇa, however, refuses and dies soon after of a disease. Thereupon his next brother, Kittisirimegha takes over Dakkhiṇadesa and leaves the whole of Rohaṇa to the youngest, Sirivallabha who brings Mānābharaṇa's widow Ratanāvalī, her two daughters Mittā and Pabhāvatī and the youthful Parakkama to take up their abode in his capital of Mahānāgahula. Meanwhile Vikkamabāhu also dies and is succeeded in Rājaraṭṭha by his son Gajabāhu who maintains himself against Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha.

The youthful Parakkama finds no scope in Rohaṇa, so he betakes himself to his uncle in Dakkhiṇadesa who receives him joyfully. He lives with him in the chief locality of the country Saṅkhatthalī. He finishes his education and his coming of age is celebrated with festivities. The Senāpati Saṅkha who was stationed in Badalatthalī, is entrusted with the

preparations for the festival. Sirivallabha dies in Rohaṇa and is succeeded by his son, the younger *Mānābharaṇa*.

Parakkama's ambition finds no satisfaction in Dakkhiṇadesa. He hankers after the royal dignity in Rājaraṭṭha and determines to go thither and discover conditions for himself. Of dissensions between the prince and his uncle there is never any word. On the contrary, the fiction is constantly upheld that Kittisirimegha is tenderly attached to his nephew, and that it is only fear of the dangers involved which makes him *discourage the visit to Rājaraṭṭha*.

So the prince leaves Sankhatthali secretly and comes first to Badalatthali where he has the Senāpati Sankha killed because he had informed[1] the king of Parakkama's flight. He then goes northwards to Buddhagāma not far from the borders of Rājaraṭṭha. The inhabitants of the country make repeated efforts to check the prince's advance but he repulses all such attempts by force of arms.

Parakkama's uncle meanwhile, alarmed at his nephew's disappearance, consults with his ministers (66. 57 ff.) and sends a strong force to fetch him back. But it is ambushed by the prince and completely routed. He even pursues the pursuers (66. 82 ff.) and surprises them by a night assault in Khīravāpi. After repulsing a countre attack he proceeds to cross the frontiers of Rājaraṭṭha.

Gajabāhu is apparently greatly alarmed but puts a good face on the matter and greets the guest through messengers with gifts, marches to meet him in person and fetch him to the capital.

During his sojourn in Pulatthinagara Parakkamabāhu enmeshes the town and its surroundings in a net of espionage.

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[1] The compiler is obviously at a loss to account for Parakkama's action. In 65. 35 ff. the affair is so described as if circumstances had driven the prince to it, but he had already (v. 21 ff.) declared his intention of committing an extraordinary deed — the allusion can only be to the removal of Sankha — by which his courage and determination would be proved. Thus even Dhammakitti admits that the action was deliberately planned.

(66. 129 ff.). He goes the length of wedding his sister Bhaddavatī to King Gajabāhu in order to lull his suspicions. He himself keeps her dowry, or at least the greater part of it, in his own hands.

Eventually however, the prince has fears that Gajabāhu may see through his intentions and he leaves the town secretly at night to return to Dakkhiṇadesa (67. 32 ff.). During this flight he meets with all kinds of adventures in which his personal courage is put to the test. Kittisirimegha is delighted at the return of his nephew and sends messengers to Saraggāma to meet him. The prince however, hesitates — the reason is not given — to enter the capital Saṅkhatthalī. His mother comes from Rohaṇa and persuades him to do so. He is joyfully received by Kittisirimegha who dies shortly afterwards when Parakkamabāhu takes over the sovereignty of the province.

What then is the character of Parakkamabāhu if we follow tradition? Here I go beyond the chapter whose contents I have just sketched, the question is what kind of personality had Dhammakitti in mind when he gave a poetical picture of his hero. Of course he is extraordinarily fearless and courageous. High-sounding words are put into his mouth. With his weapon alone for which he calls, will he strike terror into the foe (66. 31). He is capable alone of facing all his enemies, as the lion needs no allies when he tears elephants in pieces (72. 88). No one, not even the king of the gods can cross the frontiers of his realm, so long as he is in life (72. 154). Were he fain to seize the sovereignty in Pulatthinagara, the wrinkling of his brows were sufficient thereto (67. 12).

What then of the deeds? An action reminiscent of a feat of Alexander the Great is described 66. 87 ff. during the attack on Khīravāpi. Parakkamabāhu's people are unable to break through the barricade of thorns which surrounds the place. Thereupon he pierces it alone and announces his name with resounding voice. That suffices to scatter the enemy in all directions. The scene described 66. 104 may also be mentioned

here But the narratives of the courage displayed by the prince against a she-bear that attacked him in the wilderness (67 41) and against a boar (67 44), savour rather of an invention of the author for elaborating the events and adorning the poem In contrast to these we have in the miraculous story of the male elk (70 38 ff) which attacks Parakkamabāhu during the chase and shedding his antlers directly in front of him, falls to the ground, possibly a piece of ancient tradition Are we not told that the antlers with an inscription describing the occurrence "are even now" preserved in the royal treasury?

In the great military engagements against Gajabāhu and still later against the revolt in Rohaṇa Parakkamabāhu keeps completely in the background It s his generals who carry out his plans Without doubt this tallies with the actual conditions of the time The heroic age of a Duṭṭhagāmaṇī belongs to the past and where Parakkamabāhu is depicted as a hero of this stamp we have, at least as a rule, to do with the creations of poetic imagination, with literary ornamentation Highly characteristic is the episode described 72 95 ff where it looks as if Parakkamabāhu at a critical moment intended to save the situation He calls for his Sihala sword But it is not he who wields it but two of his officers whose efforts at saving the position were only partially successful

To place Parakkamabāhu's courage in the best possible light Dhammakitti makes use of two purely literary devices In his youth he is a harmless, almost childlike nature. He takes pleasure in music, games and dancing (70 30-31), even on serious occasions where it seems to us almost inappropriate When he is attacked in Nāvāgirisa by the pursuers sent by his uncle, he is playing a game to which he had been accustomed from childhood (66 101), and when he has crossed the frontiers of the 'King's Province", Rājaraṭṭha, he devotes himself for days to the local games (66 111) When his position is apparently most critical and his attendants take flight he proudly conscious of his personal worth, has nothing but a cheerful smile (66 30, 72 99) even when as after the

death of the Adhikārin Rakkha (72. 87), it seems to us hardly appropriate.

Again, what a brilliant contrast is Parakkamabāhu's heroism to the almost grotesque cowardice of his own people as also of the enemy. When the inhabitants of Buddhagāma prepare to attack the prince, his own people flee in all directions (66. 28). At the mere sound of his voice Kittisirimegha's soldiers in Khīravāpi take flight leaving behind their clothes and weapons (66. 90). When attacked in Nāvāgirisa his own people flee to the wilderness without striking a blow (66. 105) and only meet again when they hear their ruler's voice. Before the she-bear and the elk the people take to their heels leaving their prince in the lurch[1].

Here Dhammakitti manifestly does his countrymen an injustice. The Sinhalese are perhaps not naturally a warlike race, but they can hardly be so cowardly, so senselessly cowardly a they are here depicted. Against the Portuguese they at times gave proof of a death-despising courage. In Parakkamabāhu's times they were certainly not mere cravens. If the poet paints them as such he does it so that the figure of his hero should stand forth the more brilliantly against such a background. The methods employed by Dhammakitti for attaining this end, seem naive and clumsy enough, but we must remember that he himself as a bhikkhu would have but little idea or understanding of military matters.

The following is typical of Dhammakitti's standpoint. During all the events described in 64 and the following paricchedas it is deliberately stated that the relation between Parakkamabāhu and his uncle Kittisirimegha was always one of fatherly love on the one side and of deep gratitude on the other. The prince himself stresses this with zeal 66. 12 ff. And according to 67. 56 ff., 84 ff. the uncle welcomes the return of his nephew from Pulatthinagara with heartfelt joy.

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[1] For us the description in 66. 47 ff. of how the Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa was seized with terror as the result of a dream sounds comical, almost ludicrous. Dreams however, had at that time for the Sinhalese a quite peculiar significance, as indeed they still have.

The reason why the compiler holds so firmly to this fiction is clear. The ideal figure of Parakkama must be protected against the possible reproach of ingratitude. The facts however, will not tally with the fiction. Already the words put into the uncle's mouth 66. 58 ff. throw a different light on their relations Then comes the brutal murder of the Senāpati Sena who was obviously a particularly loyal vassal of Kittisirimegha to whom his death must have been a painful loss. Further the fact that the prince had to fight his way through the various provinces whose inhabitants obviously looked upon him as somewhat of a rebel and traitor. Kittisirimegha himself sends troops after the fugitive who scatters them in a series of skirmishes. Without doubt the description of these fights is accompanied by a great many exaggerations. Parakkamabāhu cannot possibly come to Pulatthinagara at the head of a whole army. But the spirit in which the accounts of these conflicts are conceived is irreconcilable with the fiction of untroubled relations between uncle and nephew.

Then finally the return of the prince to Dakkhiṇadesa after Pulatthinagara had obviously become too hot to hold him. We are forced to ask what made him delay so long at the frontier (67 59 ff.) The reason must have been his uncertainty as to the reception he was likely to get from the monarch. This explains too the part played here by Parakkamabāhu's mother. She feels it to be her task to reconcile the two or rather to induce the uncle to give his nephew a favorable reception. She plays the part of mediator.

If now we consider dispassionately the facts as set forth by the chronicle, leaving aside all the inaccuracies due to the character and tendencies of the author, we get I believe a quite intelligible picture of the youthful Parakkamabāhu

The most striking characteristic of the prince is his ambition and his activity. In Mahānāgahula life with his mother and sisters is too restricted. He dreams of great enterprises. The union of the whole of Ceylon in his hand is the ideal before him at this period It is possible that his mother, the proud Ratanāvali (cf 63. 11 ff) inspired him with these plans

and fed them. At any rate it is the idea of greater possibilities for his own activity which makes him leave Mahānāgahula and betake himself to Dakkhiṇadesa to the court of his uncle Kittisirimegha. That this province was politically of more consequence than that of Rohaṇa is clear from the way in which the provinces were divided among the three brothers, as I have shown above p. VII. Kittisirimegha has no eligible son as his successor, he receives the young prince therefore with open arms and the relation between uncle and nephew was plainly for some time a friendly one. But it changed. Owing to the bias of the chronicle, we have neither knowledge nor means of judging of the details. The main cause at any rate lay in the restless activity of the young prince. It may be that Kittisirimegha himself felt uncertain of him or that he feared being drawn by him into difficulties with Gajabāhu II., the king of Rājaraṭṭha. Parakkamabāhu will have realised himself that his position at the court of Saṅkhatthalī had become untenable. Accompanied by his devoted attendants he flees from the town at night to betake himself to King Gajabāhu. Now we see that Parakkamabāhu is by no means the innocent youth described in the chronicle. He shrinks from no deed of blood if it is in the interests of his plans and of his own safety.

The murder of the Senāpati Saṅkha seems hardly intelligible if we accept the motive alleged for it by the chronicle. The reality was certainly otherwise. We may assume that at first the prince hoped to bring Kittisirimegha's powerful vassal over to his own side. But Saṅkha remained true to his master. The prince has now reason to fear that Saṅkha may seize and deliver him up to the monarch. The danger for him is great, for Kittisirimegha would doubtless look upon him as a rebel and punish him as such. Thus he determines on extremes and has Saṅkha slain. What was thought of this deed is proved by the way it again and again later on throws its shadow on the actions of Parakkamabāhu.

Gajabāhu seems (cf. 66. 112) to have received the news of Parakkamabāhu's approach with decidedly mixed feelings. He

knew of course enough of his dangerous temperament. On the other hand it is certain that even then the prince was looked upon as an exceptional personality gifted with extraordinary qualities. The king must have regarded Kittisirimegha as his most serious rival. He may have hoped to gain the prince as ally against this rival. In any case however, it was politically short-sighted to receive him with such honour and to place more trust in him than prudence warranted.

Parakkamabāhu probably employed his sojourn in Pulatthinagara to find out the conditions obtaining in Rājaraṭṭha. We may be sure however, that this was not done in the way described 66. 129 ff. Here Dhammakitti as I hope I have shown in my notes to the whole passage, conforms to the whole scheme of the Indian Nīti Literature, exhibiting his knowledge of it with great complacency. At any rate the prince by his whole conduct arouses more and more the suspicions of Gajabāhu and his counsellors so that in the same way as he fled from Saṅkhatthalī, he leaves the capital at night convinced that he has been detected. But there is one remarkable difference. Gajabāhu seemingly sends no armed messengers out to fetch back the fugitive. He was probably glad to be rid of a guest who was becoming so dangerous.

Parakkamabāhu's mother, as I assume, reconciles him with his uncle whose death shortly afterwards solves all difficulties.

My remarks are an attempt to remove the facts of a circumscribed period of Sinhalese history from the light in which the compiler of the Cūlavaṃsa saw and was forced by his mentality to see them and to place them in the light of historical consideration. I repeat that this is merely an attempt. But the employment of this or similar methods may possibly prove fruitful in the interpretation of native tradition.

II

Kingship and the Law of Succession in mediaeval Ceylon

The form of government in mediaeval Ceylon was to all appearance of course despotic. The k i n g is head and crown of the state. The state does not exist for itself but for the king. All attributes of power and greatness are heaped on the king. Yet in his decisions and actions he is by no means so free as one might imagine. In these he is strongly influenced and also restricted by custom which has assumed the force of law, by the *pubbacarittaṃ* — use and wont. Again and again it is said in praise of the best princes that in their actions they followed former kings, that they did not stray from the path of tradition. This conservative trait forms without doubt a strong counterbalance to the ideas of unlimited power which the popular mind associates with the idea of sovereignty.

There exist a number of names and titles for "king". With no term is the Indian love of synonyms so marked as with this one. It is unnecessary to enumerate the many and varied terms for "king". They are the crux of every translator. The expression "king" I have reserved for *rājan*. Then there come in addition *mahārāja*, *rājādhirāja*, used 75. 203 of Parakkamabāhu I. which last however is an ancient title. It is used already in the Taittirīya āraṇyaka 1. 31. 6. For the ruler of a small island like Ceylon the titles strike us at times as somewhat grandiose: *mahīpati*, *mahīpāla*, *dharaṇīpati*, *bhūpati*, *bhūpāla*, *jagatīpati*, *narapati*, *narādhipa*, *narādhinātha* etc. One must bear in mind that these titles have by frequent and arbitrary use — very often it is the metre that decides the matter — become worn down and defaced. It would not be in keeping with the mentality of the compiler of the Cūlavaṃsa if we were to translate these expressions always by "ruler of the earth" and the like.

Next to the king comes the queen, the *mahesī*, his chief consort in contrast to the unrestricted number of concubines, the harem (*orodha*, *antepura*) In the case of the mahesī equality of birth is strictly enforced and only her sons have a right to the succession Herr Hocart expressed to me the opinion that there were two mahesīs and pointed out the mention of the queens Anulādevī and Somadevī in Mhvs 33 45–46. He is certainly right It is also expressly stated of Vijayabāhu I (59. 25 and 30) that he raised two princesses to the dignity of mahesī, first Līlāvatī and then Tilokasundarī (*mahesitte abhisecayi*, *-siñci*) and a *dutiyā devī* of Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa is mentioned in 64. 24 The mention of the title *aggamahesī* (54 10, 70 33) inclines us to believe that there was a difference in rank between the two mahesīs This assumption however receives no support from the inscription of Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruva in which Queen Candavatī is described as *dutiyam aggatam gatā*, that she was *the second aggamahesī* of Parakkamabāhu together with the first, Līlāvatī[1]

Special titles also exist for the sons and daughters of the reigning king, for the princes and princesses (*rājaputta*, *rājaputtī*), for the sons the title *ādipāda*, for the daughters that of *rājinī* The fact that *rājinī* is not merely a general term for "queen", but also a particular title with a particular rank corresponding to the title *ādipāda* for princes is clear from 49 3 Udaya I makes his eldest son yuvarāja, the other sons ādipādas, the daughters rājinīs In the same way Sena I according to 50 58 raises his daughters to the rank of rājinī (*rājinitthāne*) and Mahinda IV, according to 54 11 makes his sons ādipādas and his daughter rājinī[2]

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[1] See now A M Hocart, Duplication of Office in Indian State, A The Two Queens (CJSc G, I p 207 ff) I may add that Nissaṅka Malla in the Galpota Inscription (B, line 2 EZ II 106) also mentions two mahesīs, Subhadrā and Kalyāṇī

[2] The correction of *aparajinam* into *rājinam* is doubtless preferable to the *aparājinam* of S and B An *uparājinī* certainly never existed The reading *rājinittā* is also in 60. 84 which I have adopted in the text, where that Vijayabāhu I raised his daughter Yasodharā [illegible]

As to the title *ādipāda*, we first meet with it in 41. 34. Here it is stated that Silākāla bestowed it on his eldest son Moggallāna (later King M. II). Two passages dealing with the granting of the title by the king to his sons are just quoted (49. 3; 54. 11). Dappula II. does not make the son of his eldest brother Mahinda ādipāda, because, contrary to the existing law (see below), he wishes to leave the crown to his own sons. Thus it seems that with the title is bound up the acknowledgment of the right of succession. Thus it is legally borne (50. 8 and 25) by Udaya and Kassapa as younger brothers and presumptive heirs of Sena I. Likewise by Dappula (afterwards D. IV.) 53. 1 as brother of Dappula III., and 53. 4 by Udaya (afterwards U. III.) as nephew and heir of Dappula IV. Vijayabāhu I. grants his youngest brother Jayabāhu the rank of ādipāda (*ādipādapadaṃ* 59. 12), while his brother next in age Vīrabāhu receives the dignity of an uparāja. Later on after the death of Vīrabāhu (60. 86–88) Jayabāhu becomes uparāja and Vikkamabāhu, Vijayabāhu's son, becomes ādipāda.

It is self understood that with the ascent of the throne or more strictly speaking with the *abhiseka*, the consecration of the king, the title of ādipāda lapses. Mahinda I. who repudiates this ceremony is called ādipāda throughout the whole of his reign (48. 31, 68).

The granting of the title seems to have some connection with the coming of age. It is said at least of Kitti afterwards Vijayabāhu I. in 57. 61, that he attained the "rank of an ādipāda" in his fifteenth year. Here the political conditions of the time preclude the idea of an act on the part of the reigning king. At first sight it may strike one as strange that the title of *ādipāda* should be ascribed to Dappula, the sister's son of Aggabodhi VI. 48. 90, 93 and also to his two nephews 48. 116 who were otherwise (48. 110) designated simply as "princes". According to the prevailing law Dappula

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dignity of a rājinī and that she then had the building erected which is mentioned in the verse.

has no claim to the succession, but as we shall see, he was an ardent champion of another law. Thus he must have claimed the title advisedly, as did his two relatives who on their side declared themselves his legitimate heirs.

The eldest ādipāda, the one nearest the throne bears the title of *mahāādipada, mahādipāda* "grand ādipāda". Mahinda as the eldest of the three younger brothers of Sena I. is so named 50. 10, the two others, Udaya and Kassapa (see above), are ādipādas. Thus the title of *mahādipāda* is closely allied with the term *yuvarāja*. It is expressly said of this Mahinda (50. 6) that he was yuvarāja. Udaya II. confers the dignity of a mahādipāda (*mahādipādaṭhānamhi ṭhapi* 51. 91) on his brother Kassapa who in the sequel becomes his successor (52. 1). For lack of an heir male Aggabodhi I. appoints his sister's son of the same name *mahādipāda* (42. 38), and is eventually succeeded by him on the throne. Kitti-Vijayabāhu I. is in Rohaṇa after the subjugation of his foes. But henceforth he has the position of yuvarāja (*yuvarājapade* 58. 1) until his consecration as king and bears the title of a mahādipāda (58. 7). The mahādipāda of the usurper Dāṭhopatissa was according to 44. 136, his nephew Ratanadāṭha. But at the same time Kassapa (afterwards K. II.) is described as yuvarāja (44. 137) since as younger brother of the legitimate king Aggabodhi III. Sirisaṃghabodhi he had the right to the succession. The granting of the title mahādipāda seems from 67. 91 to have been a festive act, the prince receiving a fillet which was obviously his special badge.

It may be mentioned that the two titles *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda* frequently occur[1] in inscriptions in the forms *āpā* and *mahapā*.

[1] See Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, Index s. vv. That *mahayā* also (see l. c. p. 26, n. 4; p. 98, n. 3, p. 187, n. 6; p. 225, n. 3) should stand for *mahādipāda* raises doubts. The disappearance of *p* in the joint of the compound is surprising. In favour of the identification, meanwhile, is the fact that the frequently occurring phrase *apā mahayā* [illegible] (EZ. I. 25, 91, 221) is replaced in the inscription of the Jetavanārāma (EZ. I. 234) by [illegible] *mahapāṇa* [illegible]. Codrington has [illegible]

The heir to the throne has as we have seen, the title *yuvarāja*. This brings us to the question of the right of succession obtaining in mediaeval Ceylon. But first a remark on the relation of the term yuvarāja to that of uparāja.

In the first place I must point out that the investiture of the uparāja was a solemn ceremony. The uparāja is "consecrated" like the king or the mahesī (*Mānaṃ oparajje 'bhisiñciya* 44. 84; *oparajje kumāraṃ ca abhisiñcittha* 48. 42, cf. 48. 69; *Mahindaṃ . . . oparajje 'bhisecayi* 51. 7; cf. 51. 12). So far as I can see, the expression "consecrate" is never used of the yuvarāja. One is yuvarāja either in virtue of the right of succession or if necessary or desirable, the position of yuvarāja is conferred like an office or a title (*adāsi yuvarājattaṃ* 49. 3; *yuvarājapadaṃ adā* 52. 42, 53. 4, 54. 1 and 58); one is nominated yuvarāja (*yuvarājaṃ akā* 53. 28), appointed to the position (*ṭhapetvā yuvarājatte* 45. 23). It is self understood that these expressions of a more general kind are also used for the appointment of an uparāja (ex. 41. 93, 42. 6, 48. 32). The main point is that where a "consecration" is spoken of (*abhi-sic*) this has never reference to a yuvarāja but always and without exception to an uparāja.

A yuvarāja is found in every reign along with the king. Of a more limited number of rulers it is related that they appointed an uparāja. Frequently the yuvarāja is invested with this dignity. We can almost say that this was the rule, so that the announcement of the appointment of an uparāja contains the information that the individual in question was at the same time the heir to the throne. Aggabodhi III. consecrates his younger brother Māna (44. 84) uparāja, his heir to the throne according to the law, and described later (44. 123) as yuvarāja. After Māna's premature death his next youngest brother Kassapa becomes uparāja and yuvarāja (44. 124, 137). In the same way Mahinda is the uparāja of his father Aggabodhi VII. and is called in the sequel yuvarāja

right to point to this passage when he explains *Māyāraṭṭha* as *Mahādipāda-raṭṭha.*

(48 69, 75) The same is the case with an unnamed son of Mahinda II who however dies before him It is related of Vijayabāhu I that he first made his next youngest brother uparāja (59 11), thus acknowledging him as his heir, his yuvarāja On his death he transfers the dignity of uparāja to the youngest brother Jayabāhu (60 86, 87), who is then (61 3) called yuvarāja

In view of these instances the appointment of another individual than the yuvarāja to be uparāja would seem to be a rare exception due to very special circumstances Aggabodhi I for instance, appoints as uparāja his maternal uncle, but the yuvarāja is his younger brother (42 6) who is not even named and presumably died before the king Sena II consecrates as uparāja his younger brother Mahinda who was also yuvarāja (51 7, 13) After his quarrel with Mahinda he transfers the dignity of uparāja to his own son Kassapa (51, 12) In his disappointment at his experiences he probably wished to exclude his brothers altogether from the succession but this he fails to do Mahinda remains nevertheless yuvarāja and at his death his place is taken by the next youngest brother of the king, Udaya (51 63)

The matter, I think, is clear and just what one has from the first expected Yuvarāja is the legitimate heir to the throne The dignity of uparāja on the other hand, is a position of trust carrying with is certain rights, apparently *a share in the business of government It seems to have been* a matter of the king's pleasure whether to have such a support in his royal office or not

As to the right of succession, the rule was that the next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation There are frequent instances of such a sequence

Aggabodhi V is succeeded by his younger brother Kassapa III he being followed by the third brother Mahinda I Then the succession passes to the next generation and as Aggabodhi

apparently left no son of equal rank, to Kassapa's son Aggabodhi VI. If he had had brothers capable of succeeding him, they would have been his heirs. As this was not the case, Aggabodhi VII. the son of Mahinda becomes king after him (48. 1, 20, 26, 42, 68).

Sena II. has three brothers. Mahinda the eldest of them is yuvarāja (51. 13). He dies however, before the king Hereupon the next brother Udaya II. becomes heir and successor of Sena II. (51. 63, 90) and after him the youngest brother Kassapa IV. (51, 91; 52. 1). Hereupon it is the turn of the next generation and in the first instance the sons of Sena II. — Kassapa V., Dappula III. and Dappula IV., then those of Mahinda — Udaya III., Sena III. and Udaya IV. Of Kassapa V. it is expressly stated that he came to the throne in regular succession, that is according to the existing law (*kamāgato* 52. 37). Udaya II. and Kassapa IV. seem to have left no legitimate heirs. Thus after the death of Mahinda's youngest son the sons of Kassapa V., Sena IV. (53. 39; *Laṅkābhisekaṃ kamāgataṃ* 54. 1) and Mahinda IV. (54. 1, 7) come to the throne.

After the three brothers — Mahinda III., Aggabodhi VIII. and Dappula II. — had reigned in regular succession (49. 38, 43, 65) the crown went by rights to the like-named son of the eldest of them. But Dappula desires to reserve it for his own son. Hence he does not make the younger Mahinda (8) ādipāda. That this was a breach of the law is clear from 49. 84. Mahinda betakes himself full of resentment to India.

An important point is the custom of bestowing on the yuvarāja, the Southern Province — Dakkhinadesa — that is the region west of the central mountains as far as the seacoast (45. 23; 50. 49; 51. 19; 52. 1). This was after Rājaraṭṭha economically and politically the most important province in the kingdom, even more so than Rohaṇa which always maintained a more independent and special position. Dakkhiṇadesa is in consequence directly described as *yuvarājaraṭṭha* 67. 26 and 79. 60. According to CODRINGTON, as already mentioned above (p. XVIII note), the name of Māyāraṭṭha

which appears later (81. 15, 18, 62, 87 24) would mean the same, being derived, as he explains, from *Mahādipādaraṭṭha*

Without doubt the Sinhalese right of succession rests on patriarchy Nevertheless in Ceylon as elsewhere in India, remnants of an older matriarchy have been preserved This is particularly noticeable in the part played by the sister's son, the *bhāgineyya* The fact of this relationship being designated by a special term is in itself significant (Shi *bhāgineya*) For a brother's sons no such term exists They are merely called *sūnavo* Thus Parakkamabāhu is called (63 51) the son (*sūnu*) of his uncle Kittisirimegha who again is called his father (*pitā* 63 53) Their relationship to one another is always described as that between father and son The three brothers Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha are even described as the "three fathers" of the youthful Parakkamabāhu (64 33, 55) One is reminded of the conditions of ancient polyandry

If a distinction is to be made between the uncle who is the father's elder brother, and between the father's younger brother, the first is called the *mahāpitā* and the second the *cullapitā* Thus Sena I is the *mahāpitā* of Sena II (51. 24) The cousins who are the sons of two brothers call themselves quite consistently brothers, as for instance, Aggabodhi VI and Aggabodhi VII (48 61), the sons of the brothers Kassapa III and Mahinda I Thus Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the brother of the Buddha because he was the son of his uncle (*Tathāgatassa bhātā cullapitu-putto* DCo I 4)

It is undoubtedly the case that the sister's son enjoyed a certain preference the last remnant of that special position accorded to him under matriarchy Dhātusena's sister's son holds the important office of senāpati and receives the king's daughter in marriage (38 81) In the same way Dappula II marries his daughter Devā to his sister's son Kittaggabodhi (49 71)

This remnant of an earlier matriarchy can at times be a furthering or a disturbing factor in the right of succession Aggabodhi I makes his brother *yuvarāja* and appoints his

sister's son *malayarāja*. Later on he gives him his daughter in marriage and confers on him the dignity of *mahādipāda*. This sister's son afterwards ascends the throne as successor of his uncle under the name of Aggabodhi II. (42. 6, 10, 38, 40). It is not necessary to assume a breach of the law here. We may suppose that the younger brother of Aggabodhi I., the original yuvarāja, had died before him. As no male heir existed, the crown might legally go to the relative in the female line[1].

The matter is somewhat different in the case of Kassapa II. He had it is true, no younger brother but he had sons of whom the eldest Mānaka was his legal successor. As these sons however were minors, he summons his sister's son Māna from Rohaṇa and entrusts him with his sons and with the kingdom. Here we have a regency carried on however, after Kassapa's death, not by Māna but by his father Dappula, Kassapa's brother-in-law. The whole affair causes serious disturbances in the kingdom (45. 6 ff.).

A zealous champion of matriarchy and of his claims to the throne based on it was Dappula, the *bhāgineyya* of King Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha. He waged a long and obstinate fight with Mahinda II., Aggabodhi's son who was the legal heir, no younger brother existing. He was supported in his struggle by two sister's sons in Rohaṇa who in their turn hoped to become his heirs (48. 90, 98 ff.). Here we have obviously matriarchy against patriarchy.

Of special interest is what is related as to the settlement of the succession after the death of Vijayabāhu I. (61. 1 ff.). The yuvarāja is his youngest brother Jayabāhu. If he ascended the throne then Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu who is sojourning in Rohaṇa, would be his heir and successor. But now begin the intrigues of Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu and Jayabāhu, who taking her stand on matriarchy seeks to divert the crown to her line. In agreement with the highest court officials she decides that Jayabāhu shall indeed be con-

[1] Parakkamabāhu I. is also succeeded by his *bhāgineyya* Vijayabāhu (80. 1), since the male line is extinct.

secrated king over Lankā, but that the dignity of uparāja and therewith the succession (see above p xix f) shall be conferred on her eldest son Mānābharaṇa to the exclusion of Vikkamabāhu That was a coup d'Etat and the chronicle too says expressly that here was a distinct breach with old established custom (*pubbacārittamagga*)

By way of supplement a brief remark on the dignity of the *malayarāja* It is not clear whether this was conferred only on members of the royal family Malaya is the name of the central mountain region of Ceylon which however, according to the testimony of the Cūlavaṃsa (70 3 ff) was in Parakkamabāhu's time, that is in the 12th century, still a wilderness Nevertheless the title "Malaya King" must have denoted some kind of dominion, if only a nominal one over that province

Silākāla makes his second son Dāṭhāpabhuti malayarāja (41 35) The yuvarāja according to law was his elder son Moggallāna (afterwards Moggallana II) But it was not he but the malayarāja who got the province of Dakkhiṇadesa Perhaps the custom of bestowing Dakkhiṇadesa on the yuvarāja had not at that time taken root, or else Dāṭhāpabhuti was to be specially favoured After his father's death he seized the government by force from Moggallāna

Under Kassapa V his younger son Siddhattha is malayarāja (52 68), and this would seem to be the normal condition as against the granting of Dakkhiṇadesa to the eldest son Under Aggabodhi IV there is mention of a Malayarāja Bodhitissa (46 29), but nothing is said as to the relation in which he stood to the king The dignity is conferred by Moggallana III on the traitorous senāpati of his predecessor Saṃghatissa (44 43, 53) No conclusion can however be drawn from this Moggallana III was apparently himself a usurper He was commander-in-chief of Aggabodhi II (44, 2), as Saṃghatissa before him had been *asiggāha* Here it was the case of founding a new dynasty

A later form of the title showing Dravidian influence, is *malayarayaro* (70 62, 155)

III

Offices, Dignities and Titles in mediaeval Ceylon

It is interesting to note how the organisation of officialdom and the system of titles became more and more complex, reaching a climax in the middle ages about the time of Parakkamabāhu. The difference between the Cūlavaṃsa and the older Mahāvaṃsa is here a very considerable one. In the first we meet with an imposing array of expressions and designations which are absent from the other.

Nor is it easy at times to determine whether a word is merely a general term for an official or whether it is associated with a strictly defined sphere of action. This is the case for instance with *adhikārin* and *adhināyaka* (*adhinātha*)[1]. These terms almost certainly represent a difference in degree; for according to 70. 278 Parakkamabāhu conferred on the Adhinātha Māyāgeha as a reward for his military services, the dignity of an adhikārin (*adhikāripadaṃ*). The title Damiḷādhikārin may be mentioned here. It is borne by one of the two Rakkhas, the generals of Parakkamabāhu (75. 20, 69 ff.), further by a *gaṇakāmacca* named Ādicca (76. 39 ff.).

The word *amacca* (Skr. *amātya*) is certainly one of general meaning. It is used alike of civil and military officials. To translate it always by "minister" I believe is wrong. By comparison with what we now understand by that word it gets a shade of meaning foreign to it. *Sāmanta* I believe to be a purely military title. It has the same meaning as our word "officer", corpscommanders of various ranks subject to the commander-in-chief (cf. for ex. 69. 16; 70. 57, 67, 173, 314-6, 319). Even when it stands next to *maṇḍalika* it pro-

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[1] Cf. notes to 70. 278 and 72. 10. The word *adhikāra* has also [illegible] the Kauṭalīya the meaning "sphere of action", proper aut[illegible] Cf. J. J. Meyer, Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und [illegible] Arthaçāstra des Kauṭilya, p. 291, n. 1; p. 480, n. 2.

bably means a military official alongside of the civilian, the governor of a *maṇḍala*, of a larger or of a smaller district (46. 31; 69. 5, 15) by which is apparently meant the smallest division within a province, a *raṭṭha*.

Nāyaka would also seem to be a general term. It about corresponds to the English "Colonel". Sirināga the uncle of Jeṭṭhatissa III., bears this title 44. 70. Vajiragga is the nāyaka of Udaya II. (51. 105, 118) and Rukkha that of Kassapa IV. (52. 31). Not infrequently *nāyaka* is found in compounds thus in *kañcukināyaka* (see note to 72. 58) "Head or chief of the chamberlains", or in *saṅkhanāyaka* (70. 278; 72. 31, 41; 75. 75), or in *saṃvaccharikanāyaka* "chief of the astrologers" (57. 48). *Kesadhātunāyaka* (see below) also perhaps denotes a higher rank among the members of the Order of the Kesadhātus. The function of the *kammanāyaka* or *kammanātha* (72. 58, 206; 74. 168) is not clear nor the meaning of the title *dısāvijayanāyaka*.

On the other hand it is probably certain that *daṇḍanāyaka* (*daṇḍanātha*) denotes an officer of high rank[1]. Our rendering of it by "General" probably meets the case. Amongst the commanders of Parakkamabāhu the two brothers Kitti and Saṃkhadhātu bear the title (70. 279 ff.) as also the Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa (70. 68) and others (see note to 70. 5).

Head of the whole army is however the *senāpati*[2]. His position was without doubt one of extreme importance and the king only granted it to a man in whom he had the fullest confidence. Dhātusena appoints his sister's son senāpati (38. 81). In the same way Parakkamabāhu II. in the war against the

[1] *Daṇḍa* must be taken in the meaning of "army". According to J. J. Meyer (loc. cit. p 393, n. 3, cf. also p 834) the expression *daṇḍanāta* should also be inserted in the Kauṭalīya, the same as the [illegible] *daṇḍanāyaka* of Kāmandaka. Here also a corps commander is meant.

[2] In *dhajinīpati* we have nothing but a synonym for *senāpati*. In the translation I have always therefore inserted "senāpati". In the Kauṭalīya (10 6) the senāpati has not a commanding position. He is here commander of 10 padikas (?) and there are 10 senāpatis under one nāyaka. Cf. J. J. Meyer, l. c. p 566. Shamasastry differs somewhat, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p 452.

Jāvakas, entrusts the highest command in the army[1] to his sister's son Vīrabāhu (83. 41). I do not think however, that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the *bhāgineyya*. He could indeed become senāpati if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship. Udaya who had distinguished himself by his courage, was made senāpati by his father Mahinda II. (48. 154), just as Mahinda, afterwards Mahinda II., was made senāpati by his father Aggabodhi VI. Our chronicle mentions a whole series of senāpatis by name without saying whether and how they were related to the king (48. 78). Migāra is the senāpati of Kassapa I. (39. 6), Uttara that of Moggallāna I. (39. 58), Vajira of Dappula II. (49. 80), Bhadda of Sena I. (50. 82), Kuṭṭhaka of Sena II. (51. 88), Rakkhaka Ilaṅga of Dappula IV. (53. 11), the nāyaka Viduragga of Udaya IV. (53. 46), Sena of Mahinda IV. (54. 13), Deva of Parakkamabāhu I. (70. 123), Mitta of Vijayabāhu IV. (90. 2). Of Sena Ilaṅga, the senāpati of Kassapa IV. it is merely said that he belonged to the royal family (52. 16). It would be very remarkable if in all these cases or even in the majority of them the *bhāgineyya* should be meant and the chronicler not mention the fact.

A special title is that of *sakkasenāpati*[2]. Kassapa V. appoints as such his own son (*sakkasenāpatiṭṭhānaṃ datvā* 52. 52; cf. 52. 61, 64, 72, 74). After his death the dignity is transferred to his son, thus to Kassapa's grandson (52. 79). I believe we have the same title in the *saksenevi* of the Bilibeva inscription (EZ. II. 40 ff.). A synonym of *sakkasenāpati* is *sakkasenānī* (54. 53). Difficult of explanation is the term *andhasenāpati* which occurs but once (41. 87). I am inclined to think that Andha here is the Skr. *andhra*, the name of a people which occurs along with such as *pulinda* and *sabara*.

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[1] The title *senāpati* is, however, not used here.

[2] The word means "senāpati of Sakka" (the King of the gods), denotes therefore very high rank. We may infer from its meaning that it was merely a title and not the name of an office with special functions.

Like these two names *Andha* might then have reference to the Väddās and *andhasenāpati* would be a title with its counterpart in *damiḷādhikārin*. This last title is borne by one of the generals Rakkha (75 20, 69, 74 &c), as well as by the Gaṇakāmacca Ādicca (76 39, 63, 64).

Amongst the officials in personal contact with the king are the umbrella-bearer (*chattagāhaka*) and the sword-bearer (*asiggāhaka*). The umbrella is the symbol of the royal dignity. Saṃghā, the daughter of Mahānāma is married to the king's umbrella-bearer — a proof of the high rank held by this official — and obtains for him the crown by murdering her brother of inferior rank (38 1-3). Under Vijayabāhu I three brothers revolt against the king, one of whom is the "chief of the umbrella-bearers" (*chattagāhakanātha*), the second *dhammagehakanāyaka*, the third *setthinātha* (59 16). These two last names of offices do not occur elsewhere in the Culavaṃsa. The first of the two (lit. "chief of the House of the Law") is probably the highest judicial official, the second the "President of the Guild of Merchants".

The title *asiggāha* was like that of the umbrella-bearer without doubt one of high rank. Moggallāna I gives his sister in marriage to his sword-bearer Silākāla and entrusts him with the guardianship of the Hair Relic (*kesadhātu* 39 54, 55). Perhaps we have here the beginnings of the Order of the Kesadhātu. Aggabodhi II appoints a relative of his mahesī as asiggāha (42 42). Moggallāna III appoints as sword-bearer the son of the senāpati of his predecessor Saṃghatissa to whom he feels under obligations for helping him to obtain the sovereignty (44, 43). Later on this same sword-bearer himself gains the crown and reigns under the name of Silāmeghavaṇṇa (44 64-65), just as Saṃghatissa had been *asiggāha* before his ascent of the throne (44 1).

Of great importance was the office of the Government Scribe (*mahālekha*). We may assume in Ceylon the same or similar conditions as the Kauṭalīya describes[1] them for the

[1] Arthaśāstra 1 10 (28th subject), J. J. Meyer p 100 ff. in Meyer's German translation p. 80 ff.

India of the period of which it writes. The Government Scribe is called here likewise *lekhaka.* His task is the drafting of the royal edicts (*śāsana*) to whose content and form the greatest importance is attached. The rules laid down by the Kauṭalīya are extraordinarily minute. The mahālekha of Kassapa IV. was called Sena and I have pointed out (note to 52. 33) that this official is also mentioned in inscriptions. The Government Scribe of the younger Mānābharaṇa was Mahinda (72. 1, 4, 166). He had it seems at the same time military rank. The same holds good of Rakkha the mahālekha of Parakkamabāhu I. (72. 161, 170, 182).

Several official titles are formed with the word *potthakin*, namely: *bhaṇḍāra-*, *ādi-*, *mūla-* and *jīvita-potthakin.* We shall see that it is probably a case here of various synonymous designations for one and the same office. According to its origin *potthakin* has reference to an official who in some sphere or other has to do with book-keeping, the making of lists and inventories. Now *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* is of itself intelligible. It probably corresponds[1] to *koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa* "overseer of the provision house" in the Kauṭalīya. The title is borne (72. 182) by an officer of Parakkamabāhu I., Kitti[2] by name. But the same Kitti is also described (72. 27, 207) as *ādipotthakin.* This therefore is probably a synonym of *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* and means simply "first or highest potthakin". But the same meaning is also attached to *mūlapotthakin* which is the title of Māna (75. 139, 140) another officer of Parakkama. I may point to *mūlaṭṭhāna* (57. 38) "the first, the highest and most influential position", the foremost office in the state. My impression is that *jīvitapotthakin* has the same meaning. This title is also applied to Kitti (74. 90) as well as to another official of Parakkamabāhu's Mandin by name (70. 318; 72. 161). It should be remembered that the Skr. *jīvita* means "livelihood, food". By *bhaṇḍāra* was meant the necessary food-stuffs which were under the supervision and control of the potthakin.

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[1] Arthaśāstra 2. 15 (33rd subject). In J. J. Meyer p. 138 ff. In Shamasastry, p. 112 ff.

[2] Besides Kitti also Bhūta in 72. 196, another officer of Parakkama.

Only once is mention made of a *ganakāmacca* (76 39) This as the etymology shows, was apparently an official whose business was finance or accounts In the Mahābhārata the *ganaka* (BR s v) is placed side by side with the *lekhaka* It is difficult to say what *sabhāpati*[1] (67 64, 70) or *sabhānāyaka* (thus 67 61, 80) stands for The context shows almost certainly that it denoted an officer of very high rank

In conclusion I mention some terms which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed by the king for public services such as those in war In the first rank of these is the title *kesadhātu* I have noticed it in the note to 57 65 It is a distinction corresponding to our orders It may have originated in the members of the Order being entrusted with the care of the Hair Relic See above p xxvi Later on this became a mere formality It is doubtful whether *kesadhātu* in the meaning of "member of the K Order" is an abbreviation for *kesadhātunāyaka* or whether this last term denotes a higher rank within the Order

Several of the titles are joined with the word *giri* (Skr giri) or *galla* (Sinh *gala*) It is not impossible that in such titles names of localities are meant as in the family names of our nobility Very frequent is the title *nagaragiri* or *nagaragalla* (see note to 66 35) Again we have *māragiri* (note to 72 11), *lankāgiri* (note to 72 27), *nīlagiri* (note to 70 137), *lokagalla* (note to 72 222) and the uncertain *jītagiri* All these are verifiable as place names Nagaragalla (48 36), Māragalla (55 26) or Mārapabbata (48 129), Lankāgiri (70 88) or -pabbata (66 80), Nilagiri (70 20, 72 12) or -galla (70 14, 16, 87) and Lokagalla (74 79, 81, 83, 166)

In addition *lankāpura* seems to have been a title (see note to 70 218) and such are most certainly the terms *lankānātha* *lankādhinātha*, *lankādhināyaka* (see note to 70 24) as also *lankādhikārin* (see note to 70 278) The last, it is worth noting, denotes a higher degree in rank.

[1] P sabhā means "hall, assembly room" In Sanskrit the word is also used for a "law court" Sabhāpati might therefore denote a high legal official

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Chap. 38

Chap. 39

Kassapa I. founds Sīhagiri; he seeks to expiate his parrocide by pious actions (1–19). — Moggallāna comes from Jambudīpa; Kassapa defeated in battle dies by his own hand (20–8). — Moggallāna I. performs meritorious works, punishes the adherents of Kassapa, builds vihāras (29–43) — History of Silākāla; he brings the Hair Relic to Ceylon (44–56) — End of Moggallāna (57–9)

Chap. 41

Kumāradhātusena, Kittisena, Sīva reign meritoriously (1–5). — Upatissa II. makes Silākāla his son-in-law; his son is Kassapa (6–9). — Revolt of Silākāla; Kassapa losing the battle commits suicide Death of Upatissa (10–25) Silākāla; his meritorious works (26–32). — His three sons (33–6). — The Dhammadhātu comes to Ceylon (37–41) — Silākāla's second son Dāṭhāpabhuti seizes the sovereignty; murders his younger brother and is attacked by his elder brother Moggallāna. Duel of the brothers. Dāṭhāpabhuti takes his own life (42–53) – Moggallāna II.: his reverence for the teaching of the Buddha, his meritorious works (54–63) — His son Kittisirimegha. Disturbances in the kingdom (64–8). — History of Mahānāga (69–90) — Mahānāga slays the king and seizes the throne (91–3) — Meritorious works of Mahānāga (94–103)

Chap 42

Aggabodhi I.; his character and his meritorious works (1–34). The thera Jotipāla and the ādipāda Dāṭhāpabhuti (35–9). Aggabodhi II. The Kalinga King comes with his consort to Ceylon and is received into the Order by Jotipāla (40–50) The Thūpārāma damaged; the king erects a temple for the Collar bone Relic (51–60). Further meritorious works (61–69)

Chap. 44

Saṃghatissa becomes king. Moggallāna the senāpati of Aggabodhi II. revolts against him and gains the upper hand through the treachery of Saṃghatissa's general (1-21). — Moggallāna III. as king has a young son of Saṃghatissa's mutilated (22-7). — Another son Jeṭṭhatissa escapes to Malaya. Saṃghatissa himself with a third son and his minister are caught during flight and beheaded (28-43). — Meritorious works of Moggallāna III. (44-52). — The king quarrels with the treacherous general and has him mutilated. The general's son joins Jeṭṭhatissa, defeats Moggallāna and while Jeṭṭhatissa remains in Malaya, ascends the throne under the name of Silāmeghavaṇṇa (53-64). — His meritorious works (65-9). — Sirināga an uncle of Jeṭṭhatissa comes with a Damiḷa army but is defeated (70-3). — Divisions in the Abhayagiri-vihāra, purification of the Church (74-81). — The king's death (82). — Succeeded by his son Aggabodhi III. Sirisaṃghabodhi. Revolt of Jeṭṭhatissa; Aggabodhi flees to Jambudīpa (83-94). — Reign of Jeṭṭhatissa II. (95-102). — Aggabodhi comes from Jambudīpa, Jeṭṭhatissa is defeated and takes his life (103-12). — His minister does likewise; the queen also dies (113-7). — Second reign of Aggabodhi III.; his meritorious works (118-22). — After the murder of Māna the king's younger brother Kassapa is appointed yuvarāja (123-4). — Dāṭhopatissa I. revolts and drives out the king (125-9). — The wars of the two kings damage the country; violent actions of Dāṭhopatissa and Kassapa; death of Aggabodhi III. (130-44). — Kassapa II. becomes king after defeating Dāṭhopatissa and makes good his former misdeeds (145-51). — Last attempt of Dāṭhopatissa to regain the throne and his death (152-5).

Chap. 45

Meritorious works of Kassapa II; the thera Mahādhammakathin (1-5). — The king entrusts kingdom and sons to his nephew Māna and dies (6-10). — Revolt of the Damiḷas. While Māna raises his father Dappula I. to the throne,

Hatthadāṭha a nephew of Dāṭhopatissa I. comes from Jambudīpa and seizes the sovereignty (11-21). — He reigns as Dāṭhopatissa II. His conflict with the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra; his death (22-37). — Early history of Dappula I.; his meritorious works in Rohaṇa (38-82).

Chap. 46

Aggabodhi IV. Sirisaṃghabodhi becomes king; his character; meritorious works of himself and his officials (1-33). — His death (34-8). — The Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha raises at first Datta and later Hatthadāṭha to the throne while carrying on the government himself (39-47).

Chap. 47

History of Mānavamma. He goes to Jambudīpa, enters the service of Narasīha and becomes his friend (1-14). — He supports him in his war with Vallabha (15-27). — Out of gratitude Narasīha gives him an army with which to gain the sovereignty in Ceylon. The army however leaves him in the lurch and he has again to seek refuge in Jambudīpa (28-41). — He returns with a freshly equipped army to Ceylon and gains the victory. Hatthadāṭha is slain by the populace, Potthakuṭṭha kills himself (42-61). — Mānavamma as king (62-66).

Chap. 48

Aggabodhi V. and his works (1-19). -- Reign of Kassapa III. (20-5) — Mahinda I. rules as ādipāda without adopting the royal title (26-38). Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha. he quarrels with a cousin of the same name; war and reconciliation of the two (39-54). Conflict with a third Aggabodhi (55-63). — Meritorious works of the king (64-7) -- Aggabodhi VII. and his deeds (68-75). — Mahinda II. reigns at first in the name of the widowed queen (76-89). -- He twice defeats Dappula the sister's son of his father (90-112) — The king marries the queen dowager and begets with her a son whom he makes uparāja (113-5) A renewed struggle with Dappula ends with a treaty (116-32). Meritorious works

of the king (133-48). — After the death of the uparāja the king transfers the dignity to an elder son of the period of his regency (149-60).

Chap. 49

The uparāja, probably Udaya I. becomes king; he crushes a rebellion; weds his daughter Devā to a prince Mahinda of Rohaṇa (1-13). — Meritorious works of the king and his consort (14-37). — His son Mahinda III. becomes king (38-42). — Aggabodhi VIII.; his meritorious works (43-50). — His reverence for his mother (51-61). — Further proofs of his noble character (62-4). — Dappula II. supports Kittaggabodhi in gaining possession of Rohaṇa (65-73). — Meritorious works of the king and of the Senāpati Vajira (74-82). — Aggabodhi IX.; Mahinda, son of Mahinda III. who would have been the rightful successor flees to Jambudīpa (83-6). — Meritorious works of the king (87-93).

Chap. 50

Sena I. His meritorious works. Removal of Mahinda. Younger brothers of the king (1-7). — Revolt of Udaya and reconciliation (8-11). — Incursion of the Paṇḍu king. Is successful in battle. Sena flees to Malaya. The Yuvarāja Mahinda kills himself, his brother Kassapa wins through. The capital occupied and plundered by the Damiḷas (12-37). — After making a treaty with Sena the Paṇḍu king retires with great booty. Sena returns to the capital and settles the succession (38-49). — Dynastic strife in Rohaṇa, intermarriage with the Rohaṇa line (50-60). — Meritorious works of the royal couple and of their minister (61-87).

Chap. 51

Sena II., his character, his family (1-21). — Conceives the plan of a war of retaliation against the Damiḷas (22-6). — Supporting a Paṇḍu prince in his claims to the throne, he sends his senāpati with an army to the Continent. Madhurā is taken and plundered and the captured treasures brought

back to Ceylon (27-51) — The Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri found a special sect (52) — Meritorious works of the Yuvarāja Mahinda; his death (53-62) — Meritorious works of the king, of his consort and of his senāpati (63-89) — Udaya II Intermarriages in the royal family (90-3) — Kittaggabodhi revolts and seizes Rohaṇa The king sends a great nephew against him Conquest of Rohaṇa (94-125) — Punishment of the rebels, meritorious works of the king (126-36)

Chap 52

Kassapa IV and his family (1-3) — Revolt of Prince Mahinda in Rohaṇa and reconciliation with him (4-9) — Purification of the Church (10) — Meritorious works of the king and of his dignitaries (11-36) — Kassapa V Meritorious works of the king, honouring of the sacred scriptures Meritorious works of relatives of the royal family (37-69) — Kassapa supports the Paṇḍu king in war against the Cola king, his army obliged to return in consequence of a pestilence (70-82)

Chap 53

Dappula III dies after a short reign (1-3) — Dappula IV harbours the Paṇḍu king who flees to him, meritorious works of the king and of his senāpati (4-12) — Udaya III The Uparāja Sena abuses the right of asylum of the Tapovana, the bhikkhus betake themselves to Rohaṇa (13-5) — The Uparāja with his friend forced to flee thither from the enraged populace Reconciliation with the priests and return to the capital (16-27) — Sena III Meritorious works (28-38) — Udaya IV Invasion of the Colas, flight of the king to Rohaṇa Retreat of the Colas after an unsuccessful attack on Rohaṇa (39-45) — The senāpati of the king, Viduragga undertakes a campaign in the Coḷa country (46-7) — Meritorious works of Udaya (48-52)

Chap 54

Sena IV His character and his works (1-6) — Mahinda IV marries a Kalinga princess His war with the Coḷa

prince Vallabha ended by a treaty (7-16). — Honour shown by him to distinguished theras and many other meritorious works of the king, as of the Queen Kitti and of her son and of the Sakkasenāpati (17-56). — Sena V. Conflict with the senāpati Sena because the king makes Udaya senāpati instead of him (57-61). — The king forced to flee to Rohaṇa. Sena favours the Damiḷas on whose support he relies. The king dismisses Udaya, makes friends with Sena and returns to the capital (62-9). — Drinks himself to death (70-3).

Chap. 55

Mahinda V. reigns in Anurādhapura. Mutiny of the Keraḷa mercenaries. The king flees to Rohaṇa. The other provinces ravaged by the licentious soldiery (1-12). — The Coḷa king exploits these disturbances. He invades the country, plunders it and seizes the king, his consort and all valuables (13-22). — The generals Kitti and Buddha organize successful resistance in Rohaṇa in favour of Prince Kassapa (23-32). — Mahinda dies after a twelve years' captivity in the Coḷa country (33-4).

Chap. 56

Kassapa VI. Vikkamabāhu prepares a campaign against the Coḷas, but dies before accomplishing it (1-6). — He is succeeded by the usurpers Kitti, Mahālānakitti, Vikkamapaṇḍu, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama. They are restricted to Rohaṇa, the Coḷas are masters of the country (7-17).

Chap. 57

General Loka prince in Rohaṇa (1-2). — Early history of Kitti, the later Vijayabāhu: Kassapa and his sons Mānavamma and Māna (3-26). — Kassapa husband of Lokitā, father of Moggallāna and Loka (27-30). — A grandson of Dāṭhopatissa becomes a bhikkhu and gains a high reputation (31-9). — Kitti, son of Moggallāna and Lokitā, the daughter of Bodhi gives early proofs of his heroism. Becomes chief opponent of Loka (40-64). — After Loka's death he conquers

and slays Kassapa who was about to seize the sovereignty and becomes himself lord of Rohaṇa (65-76)

Chap 58

Kitti rules in Rohaṇa under the name of Vijayabāhu Evades an attack by the Colas (1-6) — Prepares for war (7-10) — Defeats a second Cola army sent against him Advances on Pulatthinagara but has again to abandon it (11-32) — After suppressing a revolt in Rohaṇa he fights a decisive action (33-39) — Ably supported by his generals he takes Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, *the Coḷas give up* the fight (40-59)

Chap 59

The kingdom made secure, preparations for the coronation, suppression of the revolt of Adimalaya (1-6) — After his consecration as king in Anurādhapura Vijayabāhu returns to Pulatthinagara Adopts the name of Sirisamghabodhi (7-10) — Granting of titles to his brothers and of offices to his followers (11-4) — Suppression of a rebellion in Rohaṇa, Malaya and Dakkhiṇadesa (15-22) — Wives and children of the king (23—33) — *Perceives* signs in his daughter Ratanāvali *that she* will become the mother of a famous son (34-9) — Marries his daughters, Ratanāvali and Lokanāthā, to the sons of his sister Further marriages of a dynastic character (40-51)

Chap 60

Vijayabāhu's architectural works Cares *for* the Church by fetching bhikkhus from Rāmañña Further meritorious works (1-23) — The Cola king ill-treats envoys of King Vijayabāhu The latter *arms for* war A *revolt of the* Velakkāras is bloodily suppressed (24-44) — At the coast he awaits in vain the arrival of the Coḷas (45-7) — Tanks *repaired* by the king, ecclesiastical buildings erected, *condign punishment* of the mahesi who had disturbed the peace of the vihāras (48-62) — The road to Samantakūṭa rendered safe, meritorious works for the good of the priesthood, encouragement of the art of poetry, support of the poor (63-82) — Works

festival for the prince (1-17) — Death of Sirivallabha Is succeeded in Rohaṇa by his son, the younger Mānābharaṇa Each of M.'s two wives bears him a son (18-24) — Parakkamabāhu's ambition aroused by the history of the heroes of antiquity To gather information as to the political conditions in Rājaraṭṭha he decides to go thither in person and leaves the town by night (25-64)

Chap 65

The prince meets his followers at the appointed trysting-place and comes to Badalatthali (1-26) — General Sankha is surprised, receives the prince nevertheless with due honours As Parakkama however fears betrayal by him he has him slain (27-37) — Great consternation at the deed A soldier desirous of avenging Sankha is hewn down (37-44)

Chap 66

Parakkama proceeds farther to Buddhagāma (1-19) — Subdues the resistance of the inhabitants (20-34) — The commander of Kālavāpi, Gokaṇṇa, visits the prince Frightened however, by a dream he flees by night to Kālavāpi His people follow him (35-56) — Kittisirimegha determines to fetch the Prince back by force but Parakkama ambushes the troops sent to seize him and cuts them up (57-77) — There follows a series of further skirmishes until the Prince at Janapada reaches the territory of Gajabāhu (78-111) — Gajabāhu receives him with honour Parakkama now seeks by systematic espionage to discover the temper of the king's subjects and does the same in the society in which he moves (112-45) — He fetches his sister Bhaddavati from Rohaṇa Marries her to the king thus gaining his confidence and makes himself everywhere popular (146-58)

Chap 67

By his determination the prince subdues a mad buffalo His courage universally admired (1-8) — He decides to return to Dakkhiṇadesa in order to seize the kingdom from there

Gajabāhu has no inkling of his plans (9-31). -- Flight from Pulatthinagara. All kinds of adventures on the way give the prince the opportunity of showing his courage (32-54). - Kittisirimegha sends people to receive him, his mother Ratanāvalī fetches him in person (55-82). - Death of Kittisirimegha; Parakkamabāhu in the dignity of the mahādipāda (83-96).

Chap. 68

Parakkama furthers culture in Dakkhiṇadesa; builds dams on the Jajjara river and widens the Paṇḍavāpi tank (1-42). Erection of further dams and constructions for increasing the productive power of the country (43-59).

Chap. 69

Military preparations in particular by organisation of recruiting in the various districts of the country (1-38).

Chap. 70

Parakkama through his generals extends his dominion over Malaya. First encounter with Gajabāhu (1-29). Adventure with an elk during the chase (30-52). - Parakkamabāhu opens the campaign against Rājaraṭṭha. His generals fight those of Gajabāhu along the frontier from the pearl districts in the west as far as Āḷisāra in the east (53-172). - Parakkama determines to attack Pulatthinagara. Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa supports him. The town taken after severe fighting, the king captured and generously treated (173-250). - Embittered at the looting of their town the inhabitants summon Mānābharaṇa. He comes, seizes all Gajabāhu's powers, takes him prisoner and plans to remove him. Gajabāhu begs for Parakkama's protection, whose generals take Pulatthinagara a second time and set Gajabāhu free. Mānābharaṇa escapes to Rohaṇa (251-310). — Gajabāhu tries once more to recover the sovereignty. Once more vanquished, he seeks the bhikkhus as mediators (311-36).

Chap 71

Death of Gajabāhu, Parakkamabāhu king (1-5) — Gajabāhu's followers summon Mānābharaṇa to their support, Parakkama secures the frontier along the Mahāvālukagangā against him (6-18) — Parakkama undergoes consecration at the express wish of his ministers (19 32)

Chap 72

Combats at the different fords of the Mahāvālukagangā (1-54) — Parakkama sends his generals against Rohaṇa also from the Pañcayojana province (55-64) — Revolt of Nārāyaṇa in Anurādhapura quickly crushed by Parakkama (65-9) — Mānābharaṇa succeeds in crossing the Mahāvālukagangā and there follows a series of chequered combats Parakkama forced eventually to give up Pulatthinagara (70-147) — Forced back to the frontiers of Dakkhiṇadesa, Parakkama opens a new attack on the capital His generals fight numerous battles (148-204) — Mānābharaṇa at bay Decisive action at Mihiraṇabibbila, a fortification erected by General Rakkha Mānābharaṇa flees secretly to Rohaṇa, triumphant entry of Parakkamabāhu into Pulatthinagara (205 300) — Death of Mānābharaṇa Before dying he advises his relatives to give up the resistance to Parakkama (301-10) — Parakkamabāhu celebrates his second coronation (311-29)

TO THE EXALTED ONE, THE PERFECT ONE THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE REVERENCE!

CHAPTER XXXVII

(Continuation)

THE SIX KINGS

So after the Ruler Mahāsena[1] had in consequence of his 51
association with impious people, done good and evil all his
life, he went according to his doing[2]. Therefore should the 52
wise man shunning from afar as a poisonous serpent, the
company of the impious, do speedily that which tends to his
own salvation. Thereupon his son Sirimeghavaṇṇa[3] be- 53

[1] There is not the slightest doubt that with v. 51 the work of the continuator of the old Mahāvaṃsa begins. We must assume that originally an ornate strophe followed 37. 50 as conclusion of Mahānāma's work. The continuator like his successors (cf. 79. 84; 90. 102), veiled the gap. The content of the lost strophe is apparent from v. 51—52, as also from the last verse of the Dīpavaṃsa (22. 76), which Dhammakitti seems to have taken as his starting-point.

[2] P. *gato yathākammaṃ* "he went according to his kamma" a frequent expression (cf. JāCo. I 109[11], 153[13], 178[6]; II. 313[11] etc.) with reference to the five *gati* or forms of rebirth ... 1. in Hell, 2. as animal, 3. as *peta* "ghost", 4. as man, 5. as *deva* „god". Here one must bear in mind that *kamma* "doing" is for Buddhist readers or hearers a technical term, the conception for the sum of all our good and evil deeds in the latest as in the former existences. Our rebirth, our whole fate is determined by *kamma* which is distinctly held to be something concrete.

[3] King Siri Mekavana Aba is mentioned in the inscription of Debel-gala (20 miles E. N. E. of Anurādhapura) which is dated in the first year of his reign. Ed. Müller (AIC., p. 30) attributes the inscrip-

came king, bestowing like Mandhātar[1] all kinds of blessings
54 on the world. In the Mahāvihāra which Mahāsena fallen under the influence of evil people, had destroyed, he gathered
55 together the whole of the bhikkhus, went thither himself, greeted them respectfully, seated himself and asked them full of reverence "What then has been destroyed by my father
56 in company with Samghamitta?" The bhikkhus answered the Lord of men· "Although thy father strove to bring about the
57 removal of the boundary[2], he was unable to do so, as there were still bhikkhus within the boundary. Seven bhikkhus
58 namely, were hidden here in an underground room The minister Soṇa and the still worse Samghamitta[3] influenced the

tion to the king Gothābhaya (Mhvs 36 98) There are however, not far from Debel gala at Timbiriveva two further inscriptions in which our Sirimeghavaṇṇa is undoubtedly mentioned BELL, ASC VIIth Rep 1891 = SP XIII 1896, p 50 Sirimeghavaṇṇa is further mentioned in a Chinese source, in the Hing Tchoan of Waug Hiuen tsa under the name of Chi mi kia po mo (cloud of merit) He is said to have sent two Bhikkhus to India to the King San maon to lo-kiu to, that is Samudragupta (who reigned according to V A. SMITH approximately between 345 and 380 A D), asking him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks who were on a pilgrimage to the sacred tree at Bōgayā Cf SYLVAIN LEVI JAs 1900, p 316 sqq , J M SENAVERATNE, JRAS C B XXIV, Nr 68 1, p 75, H W CODRINGTON, Short History of Ceylon, p 29

[1] A legendary king of the dynasty of Mahāsammata, son of Uposatha. His story is told in the Mandhātu-Jataka (Nr 258 = JaCo II 310 ff) which is again quoted in DhCo III 240[5] The name Mandhātar occurs already in the Rigveda. In the Anguttara Nikāya (A II 17) Mandhātar is described as *aggo kamabhoginam*

[2] P *simāy ugghātanam* What is meant here is the boundary of the enclosure of the Mahavihāra. The verb *ugghāteti* means "to put on one side, to set aside", as for instance, *ghatikam*, the door bolt, Vin II 207[10], III 119[34], then to open to undo , for instance, *karalakam* Mhvs 35 25 *sihapanjaram* JaCo I 124[17], II 31[15] *thūpam* Thvs 39[16] lastly ' to make known, to reveal , eg *atitabhare* DhCo IV 61[3] The removal of the boundaries would only have been legal if the bhikkhus themselves had given up the vihara

[3] The Thera Samghamitta belonged to the Vetulla sect and worked together with his lay disciple Soṇa for the advantage of the Abhayagiri vihāra against the bhikkhus of the Mahavihāra. See Mhvs. 36 110 ff, 37 1 ff

63 He built up all the demolished pariveṇas[1] and fixed the re-
64 venues of the helpers of the monastery[2] as heretofore. The
wise (Sirimeghavaṇṇa) refilled the vihāra which had become
sparsely inhabited through his unwise father having stinted it
65 of necessaries. In the vihāra begun by his father in Jotivana[3]
66 the monarch had all unfinished work completed. Now when
the Ruler of men had heard from the beginning the whole
history of the Thera Mahinda, the (spiritual) son of the Ruler
67 of the Samaṇas (Buddha), he felt a believing joy in his merit
in having brought the island to the faith and thought: "Of
68 a truth the Thera is lord over the island". He then had an
image of gold made corresponding with the size of Mahinda
69 and brought it to the Ambatthala-cetiya[4], so called after the
mango tree of the Thera[5]. There he left it on the eighth
70 day. But on the ninth day he took a great host like to an
army of the gods, as also the women of the harem and the
71 inhabitants of the town, save the watchmen, gathered together
also all the bhikkhus in Laṅkādīpa, and freed the people who

[1] *Pariveṇa* (Sinh. *piriveṇa*) denotes now a building intended for the instruction of the bhikkhus. That *pariveṇa* originally, or at any rate in early times, must have denoted more than the single cell inhabited by a bhikkhu is clear from 37. 172.

[2] P. *ārāmikānaṃ*. The *ārāmikā* had to do work for the monastery and to keep it in order. See Vin. I. 206 ff. — Cf. Vin. II. 211^{23} ff. the grades *bhikkhu—sāmaṇera—ārāmikā*.

[3] What is meant here is the Jetavana-vihāra which was built according to Mhvs. 37. 33, by Mahāsena in the Jotivana which lies outside the southern gate of the town of Anurādhapura (Mhvs. 15. 202. See the note on 37. 59.) A special Jotivana-vihāra did not exist. Cf. also below 52. 59 with note.

[4] *Cetiyambathale* (so also v. 69, 74). Probably a mere inversion for *Ambatthalacetiye* metri causa. The Ambatthalacetiya stands on a terrace of the Missaka hill, now Mihintale (8 miles east of Anurādhapura) below the highest summit, on the spot where according to the legend, the emissary Mahinda converted King Devānampiyatissa to the doctrine of the Buddha.

[5] By the riddle of the mango tree (Mhvs. 14. 17 ff.) the Thera Mahinda put the King's discernment to the proof. Even now there are mango trees planted near the Ambatthalacetiya in memory of the event.

reverence and homage (to the image) the Lord of men set out
in the evening for the vihāra Sotthiyākara[1] which he had him-
82 self erected near the eastern gate, and there also he let the
image of the (spiritual) son of the Conqueror (Buddha) tarry
83 three days Then after he had on the 12th day put the town
well in order, even as the town of Rājagaha at the first entry
84 of the Master[2], he fetched the image from the Sotthiyākara-
vihāra and brought it, while the town had the semblance of
85 the ocean by reason of the great festival, to the Mahāvihāra,

taken up again by *raja* in 67, so in 70 and *ayam* in 72, verb fin *dassesi* in 80, obj *patibimbam* in 68 (taken up again by *tam* in 77) The construction of the sentence is disturbed by the verb fin *sobhatha* in 79 I believe either that the whole of verse 79 was inserted later or perhaps better still that it is to be regarded as a parenthesis. The Sutta preached by the Buddha in Vesālī is the Ratanasutta (No 6 of the Khuddakapāṭha = v 222 ff or Cūlavagga 1 in the Suttanipāta) Its previous history is related by Buddhaghosa (Kh A p 158 ff), appears also in the Mahāvastu (I 253 ff) In Vesalī, the capital of the Licchavi clan (T W Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p 25 f) bad plagues caused by evil spirits are rife The terrified inhabitants appeal to the Buddha who is sojourning in Rājagaha He comes, drives off the evil spirits and pronounces over Vesālī the verses of blessing (*Svastyayanagāthā* in the Mahāvastu) of the Ratanasutta It is now expressly insisted on that the street from Rājagaha to the Ganges and again on the territory of the Licchavi from Vesāli to the Ganges was put in the most perfect order and decorated I should therefore refer v 74 also to the journey of the Buddha to Vesalī though in that case Savatthī would be erroneously substituted for Rājagaha That there was a tendency to make Sāvatthī a dwelling place of the Buddha is shown by Mrs Rhys Davids's acute observations on the Samyutta Nikāya. (The Book of the Kindred Sayings trsl by F C Woodward, III, p XI f)

[1] From the description of the position the name would best fit that collection of buildings east of Anurādhapura now called Puliyankulam. The foundation of this vihāra would then have to be placed in the 4th century A D, as Sirimeghavanna built it himself (*sayamkatam*) The fact of the present ruins belonging in style to a later period is no argument against the identification, as all these monasteries were repeatedly enlarged and renewed

[2] On the Buddha's first visit to Rājagaha on which occasion King Bimbisāra presented him with the *Veluvana* park see Vin *I 35 ff*, JāCo I 82[28] ff, Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 43

left it three months in the court of the Bodhi tree, brought it
then in the same (solemn) manner to the inner town and had 86
a handsome shelter built for the image near the royal palace
at its south-eastern corner. The wise, discerning (King) had 87
images of Iṭṭhiya and of the others[1] made and put them in
the same spot. He set a watch there and spent a sum of money 88
as an offering and gave orders to proceed year by year in
like manner. In obedience to his order the kings of his race 89
keep up the custom here (in Ceylon) to this day and do not
neglect it. On the day of Pavāraṇā[2] he brought the image 90
from the town to the vihāra and ordered that every year an
offering be made on the 13th day. Beside the Bodhi tree 91
Tissavasabha in the Abhaya-vihāra[3] he had a stone terrace
and a handsome wall built.

In the ninth year of this (King) a Brahman woman brought 92
hither (to Anurādhapura[4]) from the Kaliṅga country the Tooth

[1] The theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla (Mhvs. 12. 7), the sāmaṇera Sumana and the lay-brother Bhaṇḍuka (Mhvs. 13. 18, 14. 33) were companions of Mahinda on his flight to Ceylon.

[2] *Pavāraṇā* is the ceremony observed by the bhikkhus at the close of the three months' *vassa*, that is the rainy season spent in the vihāra. The *vassa* begins according to the directions of the Vinaya (I. 137[26]; cf. with this Vin.-A. III. 293[4] the commentary of Buddhaghosa) on the day after the day of full moon of the month Āsāḷha (May-June) or a month later and lasts three months. As the Pavāraṇā festival takes place on the 14th and 15th days of the final month, the 13th day mentioned in v. 90 is the day immediately preceding it for which the King ordains a yearly festival of offering. (See Th. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.)

[3] Differently rendered by Turnour-Wijesiṃha: "and he built stone cornices and beautiful walls also at the Abhaya and Tissa-Vasabha vihāras, as well as at the bodhi tree." I think, however, that *silāvediṃ* can only belong to *bodhipādape*. The sacred fig trees (*Ficus religiosa*) are as a rule sourrounded by a stone terrace. *Vihāre Abhaye* refers without doubt the Abhayagiri-vihāra in the north of the town. I am inclined to look upon Tissavasabha as the name of the Bodhi tree, named perhaps after the name of the man who planted it and who came from the village of Vasabha. There was a village of this name near Anurādhapura its revenues (see 41. 97) being later made over to the Jetavana by Mahānāga.

[4] A more detailed account of this event by which the most famous

93 Relic of the great Sage (Buddha). In the manner set forth in the Chronicle of the Tooth Relic the Ruler received it with
94 reverence, paid it the highest honours, laid it in an urn of pure
95 crystal, and brought it to the building called Dhammacakka built by Devānampiyatissa on the royal territory. Henceforth
96 this building was the Temple of the Tooth Relic[1]. The King his heart swelling with joy, spent 900000 (kahāpaṇas) and ar-
97 ranged therewith a great festival for the Tooth Relic. He decreed that it should be brought every year to the Abhayuttara-vihāra[2], and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be ob-
98 served. The Ruler had eighteen vihāras built and (he constructed) tanks which always contained water, because of his
99 pity for all living creatures. After performing innumerably many meritorious works such as offerings for the Bodhi Tree and the like, he went in the 28th year (of his reign) thither whither his merit took him[3].

relic of the Buddha came to Ceylon, is to be found in the Rājāvaliya (*see p. 53 of* B. Guṇasekara's *translation*); *in the* Rājaratnākaraya (ed. Saddhānanda, Colombo, 1887, p. 29) and in the Pūjāvaliya (Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pújávaliya, ed. B. Guṇasekara, p. 23-4). The country of Kaliṅga corresponds roughly to the present Orissa on the mainland of India. V. 93 refers to the Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa written in 1211 by Dhammakitti, an *older* namesake of the author of the first part of the Cūlavaṃsa, or to the copy of it written in the Sinhalese tongue. The Pāli *Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa* has been edited by T. W. Rhys Davids, JPTS. 1884, p. 108 ff.

[1] *One must look for* the remains of the building in the so-called Daḷadā-Māligāva in the south-eastern part of the city of Anurādhapura, not in the ruin of the same name at the Thūpārāma. See E. R. Ayrton, Ceylon Notes and Queries III, Apr. 1914, p. XII ff.

[2] „The Northern Vihāra of Abhaya", the same as the Abhayagiri-vihāra. We often meet with the name *Uttara Mahā-Ceta in inscriptions.* Thus in that of King Malu-Tissa, Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 256, cf. also ib. p. 221, 236; as well as A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. I, p. 12. In the older Mahāvaṃsa (35. 119) we also find the name *Abhayuttaramahāthūpa.*

[3] Literally: "he went there where was the way to rebirth (*gati*)". Means the same as *yathākammaṃ gato* (see above note 2 to v. 51), here of course in a good sense. According to Pūjāvaliya and Rājāvaliya the king reigned fully 28 years.

The youthful Jeṭṭhatissa, the youngest son of his brother[1], 100
then raised the umbrella of dominion in Laṅkā, (he being) ex-
perienced in the art of ivory carving. Extraordinarily skilful, 101
he carried out many[2] difficult works and taught the practice of
his art to many people. At his father's[3] request he made a 102
beautiful, charming figure representing the Bodhisatta, as beau-
tiful as if it had been produced by miraculous power, as well 103
as a chair of state with a back, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa[4] with
jewels: Here and there[5] (were) all kinds of work by him in
splendid ivory. After ruling the island of Laṅkā for nine years[6] 104
and doing numerous meritorious works, he passed away in ac-
cordance with his deeds.

Thereupon his son Buddhadāsa[7] became king, a mine of 105
virtues, as the sea (is such) of all jewels. Creating happiness 106
by every means for the inhabitants of the island, protecting the
town[8], as the wealthy Vessavaṇa protects the town of Ālaka-
mandā[9], gifted with wisdom and virtue, a refuge of pure pity 107

[1] According to the reading *bhātu tassa kaniṭṭhako* as against *bhātā t. k.* cf. Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. XVII. Nevertheless I have scruples in adopting this reading, since in the historical literature of Ceylon Jeṭṭhatissa is distinctly called the brother, not the nephew of his predecessor.

[2] P. *citrāni*. I do not believe that this word refers to painting. It is always a question of Jeṭṭhatissa's ivory carving only.

[3] The „father" may be king Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the paternal uncle being always called *pitar*.

[4] By *maṇḍapa* is understood a light, open, arbour-like structure whose roof is supported on pillars, often put up for merely temporary purposes.

[5] The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. I think v. 103 c d is a summary of what has gone before.

[6] Pūjāvaliya has the same; but according to the Rājāvaliya, 10 years.

[7] The Sinhalese sources (Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn.) call him Bujasraja. Also Nikāya-saṃgraha ed. Wickremasinghe, 16^{8}.

[8] *Rakkhaṃ* is to be supplemented from d by the object *puraṃ*, while on the other hand *puraṃ* must be supplemented by the participle *rakkhaṃ* from c.

[9] *Vessavaṇa* — Skr. *Vaiśravaṇa*, patronymic of Kuvera the god of wealth. His capital is called in Skr. *Alakā* (E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 142 ff.). In D. II. 147^{2}, 170^{7} Ālakamandā is called the capital of the Devas.

108 and endowed with the ten qualities of kings[1], while avoiding the
four wrong paths[2], practising justice, he won over his subjects
109 by the *four* heart-winning qualities[3]. The Ruler lived openly
before the people the life that bodhisattas lead and had pity
110 for (all) beings as a father (has pity for) his children. He ful-
filled the wishes of the poor by gifts of money, those of the
111 rich by protecting their property and their life. Great in dis-
cernment he treated the good with winning friendliness, the
wicked with sternness, the sick with remedies.
112 Now one day as the King riding on the back of his ele-
phant was on his way, in the principal street, to bathe in the
113 Tissa-tank, he beheld a large snake smitten with belly disease,
lying not far from the Puttabhāga-vihāra outstretched on its
114 back on a white ant-heap to display its disease of the belly,
115 called a tumour. He thought: the snake is certainly ill[4]. There-
upon he got down from the great elephant and approaching the
great snake, thus spake the hero, the Spotless One, to the great
116 snake[5]: "I understand, great Snake, the reason of thy coming.
117 But ye (snakes) are very fiery[6] and easily fly into a rage[7]. There-

[1] On the *dasa rājadhamma* see M. and W. Geiger, Pali Dhamma, p. 17. They are enumerated J III. 274[1]: *dāna* "giving of alms", *sīla* "leading a moral life", *pariccāga* "liberality", *ajjava* "fair dealing", *maddava* "gentleness", *tapas* "self-discipline", *akkodha* "without wrath", *avihiṃsā* "not wounding", *khanti* "patience", *avirodhana* "peaceableness".

[2] P. *catasso agati hitvā*. The four *agati* are *chanda* "desire", *dosa* "hate", *moha* "illusion", *bhaya* "fear".

[3] The *cattāri saṅgahavatthūni* are *dāna* "the giving of alms, liberality", *peyyavajja* "friendly, winning speech", *atthacariyā* "beneficent action", *samānattatā* "sociability". Cf. 41. 56.

[4] One must read "*nāgo rogī ti nicchayaṃ*". The *ti* is, as often, placed in the *oratio recta*. Cf. 44, 16. 45, 20; 48, 90.

[5] The verse contains a play upon words impossible for us to render, *nāga* being used in the threefold meaning of "snake" especially cobra, "elephant" and "great man, hero". Add to this the similarity in sound with *anāgara* (Skr. *āgas* "guilt, sin").

[6] P. *mahātejā*. Turnour's translation "highly gifted" is wrong.

[7] Literally "You are quickly such who bear the character of being wrathful". See Cūlavs. ed., vol. II, Index 2, s. v. *kuppana*.

fore it is impossible for me to touch thee and so to accomplish my work; but without touching thee it is also not possible. What then is to be done?" At these words the prince of the 118
snakes stuck his whole neck[1] into the cavity (of the white ant-heap) and remained lying motionless. He stepped up to it, took 119
the knife that he wore at his side and slit open the belly of the snake. After he had taken out the diseased parts and applied 120
an excellent remedy, he at once cured the reptile. Then he 121
gloried thus: "Even the beasts have known my great charity; in the right way have I ruled." When the snake saw that it 122
was cured, it gave the Monarch as a mark of esteem, its own precious jewel[2]. The King placed the jewel as eye in the stone 123
image of the Perfectly Enlightened One in the Abhayuttara-vihāra.

A bhikkhu on his mendicant round in the village of Thusa- 124
vaṭṭhika had been given only dry mendicant's food. When then he went begging for milk he got milk with worms in it which 125
he drank. In his belly the worms multiplied and fed on his bowels. Then he went and told the King. The King asked: 126
"At what meal did this pain arise and of what kind is it?" The other answered: "At the meal that I took with milk in 127
the village of Thusavaṭṭhi". The King recognised that it had been milk with worms in it. Now just at that time a horse 128
had to be cured by bleeding. The King himself bled it, took the blood, gave it tho the samaṇa to drink and spake, waiting 129
a moment[3]: "That was horse's blood." When the samaṇa[4] heard that he vomited. The worms came up with the blood, 130
the bhikkhu was cured, but the King showed his joy: "By a 131

[1] P. *phaṇa*, the hood of the cobra which it inflates when irritated. Pun with *phaṇinda* "prince of the hooded snakes".

[2] In allusion to the widespread popular belief that snakes or particular snakes have a jewel in their head. Cf. for instance, Chakesadhātu-vaṃsa, JPTS. 1885, p. 14[16].

[3] I now prefer to read *vītināmayaṃ* with the MSS. S 3 or., 6, or *vītināmiya* with the Colombo edition.

[4] On the term *samaṇa* cf. R. O. Franke, D. trsl. p. 304 ff. In the Mahāvaṃsa the word is used in the same sense as *bhikkhu*.

single stroke of the knife worms, samaṇa and horse have been cured: excellent of a truth are my activities as healer."

132 A man in drinking water swallowed the egg of a water
133 snake[1]; out of it there came a water snake. It sucked itself fast[2] in his inside. Tortured by the pain caused by this he
134 sought the King. The latter asked him as to the cause[3]. He recognised that a reptile was within him, made him fast a week and had him, after being bathed and rubbed with oil,
135 laid on a well prepared bed. Now as he lay there in deep
136 slumber with open mouth, he placed before his mouth a piece of meat with a string attached. (Lured) by the smell the reptile came out of him, bit fast at it and wanted to crawl in
137 (again). Thereupon the King held it fast by means of the string, drew it out, threw it in a jug into water and spake
138 these words: "As is well known the physician of the Perfectly Enlightened One was Jīvaka[4]. Can the world show a work of
139 his harder (than this)? Certainly he also would accomplish a work like this — of that there can be no doubt — if he did it[5] with the utmost care. Behold the consequences of my good deeds![6]"

[1] *deddubha* Cf *udakadeddubha* J I 361[6], III 16[19] In J VI. 194[16] the Comm explains the word *d* by *udakasappa* In Sinh also *deduba* means a water snake The closely allied skr word *dundubha* is a kind of lizard without feet living in the water (Böhtlingk Roth, s v)

[2] P *anto tuduttha tundam*, lit. 'it stuck (or bored) its mouth in"

[3] P *nidāna* is like skr *nidāna* a medical term the theory of the causes of diseases and of their nature Aetiology, Pathology" PTSPD s v Cf Milp 272[13] *rogupattim ca nidānam ca*

[4] For this famous physician, Jīvaka Komārabhacca, see namely Vin I 268 ff

[5] Turnour has misunderstood the passage. W. has got nearer to the sense, but he has misinterpreted *sabbādarena kubbanto* ("in all loving kindness") The meaning is this Buddhadāsa has no intention of placing himself above Jīvaka, but his achievements are equal to the highest of those of Jīvaka The latter also had to use all his skill to achieve such cures as Buddhadāsa can boast of having accomplished

[6] P *puññodaya*, lit "ascent of acquired merit", a technical expression denoting the moment, in which the effects of former good deeds make themselves felt See 63 23

In the same way in Helloligāma he saved a Caṇḍāla woman 140
the fruit of whose womb had taken a wrong position[1], seven
times with the child. A bhikkhu was disturbed[2] in his exer- 141
cises by the writhing disease[3]; as he had become (bent) like
a roof-tree[4] the wise (King) freed him from his ailment. A 142
young man was drinking a little water in which were frog's
eggs. An egg penetrating by the nostril entered his skull. It 143
opened and was a frog; it grew and dwelt[5] there. At the
approach of the rainy season the young man was greatly tor-
tured by it. The King split the skull, took out the frog, put 144
the parts of the skull together again and cured the young man
at once[6]. For the good of the inhabitants of the Island the 145
ruler had refuges for the sick set up in every village and placed
physicians in them. He made a summary of the essential con- 146
tent of all the medical text-books and charged one physician
with (the care of) twice five villages[7] and gave the physicians 147
the produce of ten fields as livelihood. He also appointed phy-
sicians for elephants, horses and soldiers. For cripples[8] and 148

1 One must join *mūḷhagabbhiniṃ jātaṃ*. On *mūḍhagarbha* cf. Jolly, Medizin (der Inder), p. 64 f. *Satta vāresu* belongs to *mūḷhagabbhiniṃ* as well as to *sukhitaṃ akā* "cured, saved".

2 P. *vuṭṭhāpito*. The verb *(v)uṭṭhā* is the term for awaking from the state of absorption in meditation (*samādhi*). Thus Vin. I. 2^{29}, 3^{12} etc. D. II. 156^{5} ff.; M. I. 302^{8-10} etc. Also the substantive *(v)uṭṭhāna* M. I. 296^{4} etc. Manifestly our passage means that the pain awakened the bhikkhu out of his sleep of meditation.

3 P. *vātābādhena*. See Jolly loc. cit. p. 118 f. The disease consists in contraction of the joints, cramp, paralysis etc.

4 P. *gopānasī* a roof beam in gable form ⋀. The expression *gopānasivaṅka* "bent like a *g*." is used of people bent by age.

5 P. *tattha gacchati* in the more general meaning "was there" (cf. skr. *tatragata*), the present expressing the permanent condition.

6 Lit. made him (as he had been) originally.

7 I do not take *sāratthasaṃgahaṃ* as does Turnour, for the title of a medical work. In this case the construction of the preceding genitive *sabbesaṃ vejjasatthānaṃ* would be quite unintelligible. Cf. also the note to v. 171.

8 P. *pīṭhasappīnaṃ*, who moved about with the help of a chair-like frame. PTSPD. s. v.

for the blind he built refuges in various places and refuges
149 with maintenance in the principal street[1] He hearkened con-
stantly to the good doctrine, showing reverence to the preachers
of the doctrine[2] He also fixed the salaries of the preachers
150 in different places Of his great pity he had a pocket for his
knife[3] made in the inside of his mantle and whereever he met
them he freed the afflicted from their pains
151 Now one day the King royally adorned came forth with his
152 army like Vāsava[4] with the Gods Now when a leper who in
a former existence had been his enemy, beheld the Ruler at
the very summit of his glory and good fortune[5] shining in royal
153 splendour, he was filled with fury, he struck the earth with
his hand and smiting the ground again and again with his staff,
154 he reviled him with many abusive words As the discerning
(King) witnessed this curious behaviour[6] from afar, he thought
155 'I cannot remember having done evil to any being, he is cer-
tainly my enemy from former times I will appease this (his

[1] Evidently for travellers *bhoga* means here f eding In Turnour's translation the double *sālayo* is disregarded

[2] P *dhammabhānaka* (below in v 173 the synonym *dhammaghosaka*) The word *dhamma* means here the teaching of Buddha as formulated in the sacred texts Recitations from such texts (Suttas) by the bhikkhus are even now frequent in Ceylon They often last the whole night through and pious laymen listen with intense devotion although they understand not a single word of the recital (Sinh *bana*) P Tuxen is undoubtedly right in regarding this as in the first place a kind of spiritual adjustment , thus a sort of Yoga facilitated by the musical effect of the recital by the rhythm which is peculiar to the *Pali texts* The feeling *for rhythm is* as I have *frequently* noticed extraordinarily developed amongst the Sinhalese P Tuxen Einige Bemerkungen über die Konstruktion der Palitexte Festschrift Hermann Jacobi p 98 ff

[3] P *sattharattim* The word *sattha* is used here for the surgical knife So already above v 119 For the expression "cover 'receptacle" for *ratti* cf *maricaratti* = pepper pod

[4] A name for the King of the Gods Sakka or Indra

[5] Here we must either regard the *m* in *sirisobhagga m-aggappattam* as neutralising the hiatus or we must separate *sirisobhaggam aggappattam* so that the first word is dependent as acc on the second

[6] P *vippakāram* lit. change demeanour deviating from the normal

enmity)," and he said to a man who stood near: "Go and find 156
out the feelings of the leper yonder." He went. Like a good 157
friend he seated himself by the leper and asked him why he
was so angry. The leper told him everything: "This Buddhadāsa 158
here was (once upon a time) my slave; for his meritorious deeds
he has become monarch. To slight me he rides past me there
on his elephant. He shall learn to know me in a few days![1] 159
If he puts himself in my power (again), I shall make him partake of the full chastisement of slaves. If he does not fall into 160
my hands, I shall slay him and drink his throat's blood. Of
that there is no doubt. Thou shalt see it shortly." The man 161
went and related the matter to the prince. The discerning
(King) (now) felt certain that that (leper) was his enemy of
old. He thought: "It is meet to put an end by (some) means 162
(or other) to the enmity of a foe", and (thus) directed the man:
"win him in the right way." He went to the leper and spoke 163
to him like a good friend: "For a long time I have harboured
the thought of destroying the King; but as I found no accom- 164
plices for his murder, I could not (carry it out). But now that
I have found thee, I can fulfil my wish. Come to my house, 165
dwell with me and be my helper, in a few days I shall destroy
his life." After these words he took the leper to his house 166
and having had him bathed and oiled, clad with a choice garment, well fed with dainty food and served by youthful women, 167
he had him laid on a splendid, well-prepared bed. In the same 168
fashion he sheltered him for several days and when he saw
that he had grown trustful and that he was happy and contented, he gave him food and drink with the words: "This is 169
a gift from the King." Twice and thrice he refused it, then
begged (by the other) he took it. Gradually he learned to put 170
full trust in the Monarch and when he heard (later) that the
Monarch was dead his heart broke in twain.

[1] Lit. "I will make him know myself". Erroneous by W. "I will make him know himself". The acc. *attānaṃ* can only be related reflectively to the subject contained in *jānāpessāmi*. The gerund *kāretvā* in v. 159 belongs to *jānāpessāmi*, the ger. *māretvā* in v. 160 to *pivissāmi*. The sense is: if he voluntarily becomes again my slave (*hatthaṃ me eti—āyāti*) I shall chastise him as such, if he does it not, I will sl...

171 Thus the King healed physical and spiritual disease and he
installed physicians in the island to provide for the cure (of
the sick) in the future[1].
172 In the Mahāvihāra the King had the Moraparivena[2] built
which was beautified by a pāsāda five and twenty cubits[3] high.
173 He made over to it the two villages of Samaṇa(gāma) and
Goḷapānu(gāma) and to the bhikkhus who held forth on the
174 doctrine (he assigned) revenues and servants[4]. He built vihāras
and pariveṇas which were fitted up with the four necessaries,
175 and (he built) tanks and alms-halls, and (erected) images. In
the reign of the same king the ascetic Mahādhammakathin[5]
176 translated the Suttas into the Sihala tongue. The King possessed eighty heroic, vigorously grown sons of winning mien
who bore the names of the eighty disciples (of the Buddha[6]).

[1] The Col ed takes out the second half of this verse "and he installed" etc. which all MSS. known to me have in this place, and adds it above to v 146 (= v. 96 of the ed) after "summary of the essential content of the medical books". On grounds of method I cannot accept this Besides which the verse is quite appropriate here. The compiler summarizes what the king had done for the furtherance of medical lore not only in his own day but also for the future

[2] P *Moraparivena* or *Mayūraparivena* means "Peacock-P" The traditional name Mayūra Pirivena is applied even to day to a very ruinous building lying not far from the south west corner of the present Mahā vihāra on the road leading to Kurunegala H C P Bell, ASC, Ann Rep 1894 (= SP XXXIX, 1904), p 5

[3] P *hattha* As the *hattha* according to Fleet, JRAS 1906 p 1011 was not smaller than 17 75 inches (= 45 08 cm) and certainly not larger than 18 25 inches (= 46 35 cm), the height of the pāsāda of the Moraparivena must have been roughly 37 to 38 ft (= 11.28 to 11 58 m)

[4] P *bhoge kappiyakarake* By *bhogā* is meant the produce taxes of certain lands The *kappiyakaraka* (lit. who do what is meet) are probably no other than the *ārāmika* (note to 37, 63)

[5] Without doubt the same as the one named as his contemporary by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, *Ta mo kiu ti* (Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World I, p XXVI As Fa hian stayed in Ceylon about 411 12 we have here a valuable confirmation of Buddhadāsa's time F R. Ayrton, JRAS 1911, p 1142

[6] The *asītimahāthera* are mentioned for instance in the Chakesadhātu vamsa, JPTS. 1885 p 16[3], the *asītimahāthera* DhCo. I 14[3], 19[15]. Cf below 85 102

Sorrounded by these (his) sons who were named Sāriputta and 177
so forth, Buddhadāsa shone like the Perfectly Enlightened One.
After he had thus wrought blessings for the dwellers in the 178
Island the Lord of men, Buddhadāsa, went to the world of the
gods[1] in the twenty-ninth year[2] (of his reign).

Hereupon his eldest son Upatissa became king: endowed 179
with all royal virtues, ever leading a moral life, great in pity.
Shunning the ten sinful actions, he practised the ten merito- 180
rious works; the King fulfilled the ten royal duties and the
ten pāramitās[3]. By the four heart-winning qualities[4] he won 181
over the four regions of the world. In the Mahāpāli Hall[5] he
had the remains of the royal table[6] distributed. For cripples, 182

[1] P. *tidiva* = *sagga* (Skr. *tridiva* = *svarga*) designation of the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven, the heaven of the 33 gods at the head of whom stands Sakka (Indra).

[2] The Pūjāvaliya gives Buddhadāsa a reign of full 29 years, the Rājāvaliya one of eighty years!

[3] The ten "meritorious works" (*puññakiriya*) are *dāna* "giving of alms", *sīla* "leading a moral life", *bhāvanā* "spiritual discipline", *apaciti* "reverence", *veyyāvacca* "diligence", *pattianuppadāna* "transference of one's own merits to another", *abbhanumodanā* "gratitude", *desanā* "instruction", *savana* "hearkening (to sermons)", *diṭṭhujukakamma* "right views" (see PTSPD. s. v. *puñña*). — On the *dasa rājadhammā* see above note to v. 107. — The ten *pāramitā* ("perfections") which must be attained by each future Buddha (*bodhisatta*) are *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma* "renunciation", *paññā* "knowledge", *viriya* "manliness", *khanti* "patience", *sacca* "uprightness", *adhiṭṭhāna* "will power", *mettā* "love", *upekkhā* "serenity".

[4] See above note to v. 108.

[5] Most probably the building whose remains lie S. E. of the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli-Dagoba) close to the present post-office. That this building served for the distribution of alms is proved by the stone canoe 44 ft. long (= 13.4 m.) lying near. This was obviously a receptacle for gifts of rice which were then portioned out. According to 42. 67 this stone canoe was presented by King Aggabodhi II. The erection of the hall is ascribed, Mhvs. 20. 23, to Devānampiyatissa, 247-207 B. C. Cf. on the building H. C. P. Bell ASC., Ann. Rep. 1902 (= SP. LXVII, 1907), p. 1-3.

[6] The reading of the MSS. *rājānubhojanaṃ* is certainly right. Cf. Cūlavs. II, Index 2, List of Words, s. v. *anubhojana*.

women in travail, for the blind and the sick he erected great
183 nursing shelters and alms-halls In a northerly direction from
the Mangalacetiya he erected a thūpa, an image house[1] and
184 an image In carrying this out he with the thought my subjects
must not be estranged[2] (from me) had (the work) done
185 by boys to whom he distributed sugar and rice He had built
at various places innumerable and meritorious works, (such
as) the Rājuppala (tank), the Gijjhakūṭa, Pokkharapāsaya, Valā-
186 hassa and Ambuṭṭhi (tanks) and the tank of Goṇḍigāma, the
Khaṇḍarāja-vihāra and (further) tanks always filled with water[3]
187 (Once) when rain poured (into the house) he passed the night
nevertheless lying on his bed, thinking it would be a trouble
188 to the people (if I were to call anyone) When the Minister
noticed this he took him into the garden and had the house
(meantime) covered in[4] Thus never for his own sake did he
cause trouble to living beings
189 In the time of this (King) the Island was vexed by the ills
of a famine and a plague The benevolent (King) who was as
190 a light for the darkness of sin, asked the bhikkhus "Did not
the great Sage (Buddha) when the world was visited by such
evils as famine and the like, *provide some kind of help for*
191 the world?" They pointed to the origin of the Gangārohaṇa-

[1] The *paṭimāgeha* is an essential part of every monastic establishment It is known by its having besides the main entrance on the east side an extra entrance from the north

[2] The ingenious correction *khijjantu* shall (not) be wearied (instead of *bhijjantu*) of the Colombo edition is tempting Nevertheless I feel unable to accept it It will be argued that if the work is wearisome for adults it must be so in a far greater degree *for boys* The idea is rather this the king will not make enemies of his subjects by giving them tasks which keep them from more important work *Boys* have free time and consider such work when rewarded by sweetmeats as play

[3] *The construction of vv 185 6 is difficult* the translation uncertain It is worth noting that in the Pūjavaliya and the Rajavaliya the construction of the Tōpāveva the lake of Polonnaruva is ascribed to Upatissa

[4] Here too the construction is brief and obscure But W has grasped the meaning properly

Sutta[1] on such an occasion. When he heard this he made an
image wholly of gold of the departed Buddha[2], laid the stone 192
alms bowl of the Master[3] (filled) with water in the hollow of
its hands and placed this his figure on a great chariot. He 193
took upon himself the duties of a moral life and made the
people also take them on themselves, he instituted a great
almsgiving and established security (of life) for all living crea-
tures. Then after he had adorned the town (so that it was) 194
comely as the world of the gods, he descended surrounded by
all the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island, to the principal street[4]. 195
Then the bhikkhus who had gathered there reciting the Ratana-
Sutta and pouring out water[5], walked about the street, not far 196
from the royal palace, near the wall, round which they walked
with their right side towards it[6] in the three watches of the
night. When morning dawned a great cloud poured rain on 197
the earth and all who had suffered from disease, held refreshed
high festival. But the Lord of men decreed: "When there 198
shall be on the Island an evil such as famine, plague or the
like, thus shall it be done."

[1] Must be a name for the Ratana-Sutta mentioned in v. 195. On this see above note to v. 80.

[2] P. *sambuddhadhātuno*, lit: of the relic of the Perfectly Enlightened One. As Buddha himself has entered Nirvana, an image of his outward appearance as he was in life, can only be a "relic" of him. TURNOUR's translation: "for the tooth relic" is wrong.

[3] The bowl relic (*pattadhātu*) was next to the sacred tooth the relic most revered on the Island. See below 61. 61, 74. 100 ff. It was originally kept in Pāṭaliputta by King Asoka (Mhvs. 17. 20). The Sāmaṇera Sumana, one of Mahinda's companions, brought it so Ceylon, and King Devānampiyatissa deposited it in his palace (Mhvs. 20. 13).

[4] What is meant here is the sacred street which starting from the city of Anurādhapura in the N., runs southwards to the Mahāvihāra.

[5] A fine example of popular rain magic adopted by the official religion. For the filled water vessels and the pouring out of water in Indian rain magic see OLDENBERG, die Religion des Veda[2], p. 505. Further analogies in L. von SCHRÖDER, Arische Religion II, p 253 ff.

[6] P. *kurumānā padakkhiṇam*. The walking round a sacred object or a holy person with the right side towards it or him, thus to the left is a ceremony of reverence. As we were informed in the

199 When he having ascended to the Cetiya, perceived ants and
other (insects) he with the words walk slowly in the forest,
200 was wont to sweep the earth with a peacock's feather and to
use for the cleaning of a seat a shell filled with water[1] In
201 the south-west corner of the royal palace he had a house built
for the Uposatha festival[2], and a house with an image of Bud-
202 dha as well as a pleasant garden surrounded by a wall On the
fourteenth, on the fifteenth, as well as on the eighth day of
the half of the month and on extraordinary festivals[3] he stayed
203 there accessible to instruction[4], taking upon himself the eight-
fold Uposatha vow His whole life long he ate of the food
204 (served) in the Mahāpāli Hall[5] When he took a walk in the

in Balapitiya the person showing reverence must *go to the right* A young bhikkhu performed the ceremony in our presence before the thūpa of the monastery This however must be an innovation This we learn from the Borobudur in Java In the case of the reliefs of the first terrace, the pilgrim can only follow the single events in the life of the Buddha in their proper order if ascending the terrace from the east side, he walks round it *to the left*

[1] The passage is difficult A tolerable construction is only possible if we regard *ādāya carati* as a periphrastic formation As a rule certainly *car* is joined with the pres part But already in Skr when similarly used, it is found occasionally also joined with the gerund S *BR* s. v

[2] Uposatha is the Buddhist sabbath which is kept four times in the lunar month, on the day of the new moon (*cātuddasī*) on that of the full moon (*pancadasī*) and on the 8th day (*atthamī*) of each half of the month On the first two days the confession festival (*pātimokkhuddesa*) of the bhikkhus took place Special buildings or halls were erected for this ceremony Mhvs. trsl., p 296 nr 29 Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism p 237 ff Th Kern Indian Buddhism p 99 f

[3] P *pātihāriyapakkha* "an extra holiday, an ancient festival not now kept (PTSPD s v) Cf Sn 402 The two lines of verse 202 are also found with slight variation S I 208[26], Vv 15 6 19 9 DhCo IV, p 21 With the help of these parallel passages we should read *cātuddasim pañcadasim yā ca pakkhassa atthamī*

[4] P *sāpadānam* is an adverb = *sa-ap* The word *apadāna* means 'instruction Thus Th I 47 where the Co renders it by *ovāda* The opposite of *sāpadāna* is *anapadāna* accessible to no instruction which in Vin II 4[20] stands next to *bāla*, *avyatta* and *āpattibahula* What is meant is of course instruction by the sermon

[5] He lived thus as simply, as the poor who are dependent on charity

garden, having set up a feeding-place for the Kalanda birds[1],
he had his own food served to them, and this is a custom to
this day. (Once) seeing a criminal who was to be executed being 205
led forth, he was deeply moved and had a corpse fetched from
the burying ground and thrown into a copper barrel. He then 206
gave the criminal money and let him escape by night, but after
sunrise, full of wrath, he had the corpse burnt as if it had
been the criminal. He instituted a great festival for all the 207
cetiyas in the Island and (presented) a gold casing for the
crowning ornament on the Thūpa in the Thūpārāma[2]. After 208
he had for forty and two years[3] performed meritorious works
without leaving even a moment unemployed, he entered into
the company of the King of the gods.

The queen-consort of this King who had an intrigue[4] with 209
his younger brother Mahānāma, murdered him by stabbing
him in a lonely spot. This younger brother who during his 210
brother's lifetime had undergone[5] the ceremony of renunciation
of the world, returned after the murder of the King, to the

[1] According to the northern tradition the Skr. *kalanta(ka)* denotes a bird. Cf. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, p. 43, the legend of the Veṇuvana park (P. *veḷuvana*) and of the Kalantakanivāpa (P. *kalandaka-nivāpa*). In my opinion we must assume the same meaning for P. *kalanda(ka)*, although Sinh. *kalaḍa* is said to stand for "squirrel". That we have to do with a kind of bird seems clear from Milp. 368[12]. Here the expression *naṅguṭṭhaṃ papphoṭetvā* is used of the *kalandaka*; JāCo. II. 153[22] we have *pakkhe pappoṭhetvā*, said also of a bird.

[2] The Thūpārāma lies near the southern gate of the city of Anurādhapura on the west side of the sacred street (see note to 37. 194). It was built by Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) See Mhvs. trsl., Note to 17. 50. Cf. now with my translation of 17. 41 A. M. Hocart, Ceylon Journal of Science, Sect. G, I. 2, p. 44, note 4. The relic preserved in the Cetiya of the Thūpārāma was the right collar-bone of the Buddha (see 42. 53). Its history is related Mhvs. 17. 9 ff.

[3] Pūjāvaliya and Rājāvaliya give the same length of reign.

[4] Also W: "His consort who was intimate with his younger brother Mahānāma . . ." Nevertheless the union of *vallabhā* with the instr. is surprising, as also the use of the word to denote a criminal relationship.

[5] The *pabbajjā*, while the actual admission into the Order is carried out by the *upasampadā* which follows later. See Mhvs. trsl. p. 294, nr. 15 and p. 296, nr. 28.

211 lower life[1] and became monarch He took as his Mahesi the
Mahesi[2] who had murdered his brother He built refuges for
212 the sick and enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall He erected three
vihāras, Lohadvāra, Ralaggāma and Koṭipassāvana[3] and pre-
213 sented them to the bhikkhus of the Abhayuttara-vihāra After
having built a vihāra on the Dhūmarakkha mountain[4], he bestowed it at the Mahesi's instigation, on the bhikkhus of the
214 Theravāda School[5] He had renovations made in ruined vihāras
He was always one who rejoiced in the almsgiving and in the leading of a moral life and one who reverenced the (three sacred) objects[6]
215 A young Brahmaṇa born near Bodhimaṇḍa[7], who understood
science, the arts and accomplishments and was perfectly versed
216 in the three Vedas, who knew the (various) systems of doctrine
thoroughly, who was skilled in disputation and also fond of controversy, wandering about Jambudipa[8], sought out the various
217 masters of controversy Thus he came (once) to a vihāra and

[1] The lay life is regarded as inferior (*hīna*) to the monkish

[2] *Mahesī* (skr *mahiṣī*) is the title of the first wife of the King See the Introduction II

[3] A Koṭipassāvana vihāra is mentioned 38 46 but here as founded by Dhatusena The two other names do not occur otherwise neither are they as far as I know to be found in Sinhalese historical literature

[4] The mountain is mentioned Mhvs 10 46 ff in the history of Paṇḍukabhaya It lies on the left bank of the Mahavaliganga by the Kacchaka ford (now Mahagantota) E of Polonnaruva

[5] That is to the bhikkhus of the Mahavihara in which the Theravādins had their seat

[6] P *vatthuttaya* These are the *tīṇi vatthūni* the *vatthuttayaṃ* (Buddha the Doctrine and the Order) TURNOUR's translation is too general

[7] *Bodhimaṇḍa* Place of Enlightenment the spot not far from the present Bo Gaya in Southern Bihar where according to tradition the Bodhisatta meditating under a *Ficus religiosa* by attainment of the highest knowledge became the Buddha For the history of Buddhaghosa cf BIMALA CHARAN LAW The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa Calcutta and Simla 1923

[8] Name for the continental India.

elucidated during the night the ideas of Patañjali[1] word for
word and quite exhaustively[2]. Hereupon the Grand Thera[3] (of 218
the vihāra) named Revata realised: "This is a being of the
highest wisdom; he must be won over," and he said: "Who 219
then is he who cries there with the cry of an ass?" The
(Brāhmaṇa) said to him: "Dost thou then understand (at
all) the meaning of the cry of asses?" and on the reply: "I 220
understand it" he expounded his ideas. Revata answered each
single thesis and pointed out the (logical) contradictions. On 221
the request: "Explain then thy own system of doctrine," he
held forth to him on the text and content of the Abhidhamma.
The (Brāhmaṇa) did not understand it. He asked: "Whose 222
sayings[4] are these?" "These are the sayings of the Buddha,"
answered the other. To the request (of the Brāhmaṇa): "make
them known to me," Revata answered: "Thou shalt receive
them when thou hast undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation."
As the Brāhmaṇa craved for the sayings he under- 223
went the ceremony of world-renunciation and learnt the Tipiṭaka[5].
He recognised: this path leads alone to the goal[6], and
accepted it thereafter[7]. As his speech was profound like that 224

[1] The author of the Yogasūtrāṇi (Strauss, Indische Philosophie, p. 178 ff.) who must accordingly, if our notice is credible, have lived before middle of the 5th century A. D.

[2] Lit.: with comprehensive words and well rounded off.

[3] P. *thera* (= Skr. *sthavira*) and *mahāthera* are titles of older bhikkhus in leading positions, something like presbyter.

[4] P. *manta*, skr. *mantra*. What is meant by this word are the sayings of the Veda. Here the word has a wider meaning, something like "sacred text".

[5] That is the whole of the canonical books consisting of the three parts Vinaya-, Sutta-, Abhidhammapiṭaka. See Mhvs. trsl. p. 296, nr. 27.

[6] The sentence *ekāyano ayaṃ maggo* is an allusion to a passage in the Saṃyutta. Here (S. V. 167[8] ff.) the Buddha says: *ekāyano 'yaṃ* (sic!) *maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā . . . nibbāṇassa sacchikiriyāya yad idaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā.* We see at once from the passage that *ekāyana* is an adjective something like "alone accessible". In the Chāndogya-Upanishad 7. 1. 2 the word is used substantively to denote a branch of science. Śaṅkara explains it by *nītiśāstra*.

[7] That is: he now entered the Order with the ceremony of the *upasaṃpadā*, making its duties and principles his own.

of the Buddha he was called Buddhaghosa, for his speech (re-
225 sounded) through the earth like (that of the) Buddha[1] After
he had written a book Ñāṇodaya yonder (in Jambudipa), he
also wrote the Atthasālini[2], an interpretation of the Dhamma-
226 saṅgaṇī The sage (Buddhaghosa) also began to compose a
commentary to the Paritta[3] When the Thera Revata saw that,
227 he spake the following words 'The text alone has been handed
down here (in Jambudipa), there is no commentary here Nei-
228 ther have we the deviating systems of the teachers[4] The com-
mentary in the Sihala tongue[5] is faultless The wise Mahinda
who tested the tradition[6] laid before the three Councils[7] as it
229 was preached by the Perfectly Enlightened one and taught by
Sāriputta and the others, wrote it in the Sihala tongue and it
230 is spread among the Sihalas Go thither, learn it[8] and render
it into the tongue of the Māgadhas[9] It will bring blessing
231 to the whole world" Thus addressed, the wise (Buddhaghosa)
sallied forth joyful in the faith and entered the Island just in
232 the time of this king (Mahānāma) He came to the Mahā-
vihāra, the abode of all pious (people), went into the great
233 practising-house[10], learned from Samghapāla the commentary

[1] Speech in P *ghosa* The second time Turnour translates it by 'fame scarcely right. In this case the motivation with *hi* would not apply Turnour avoids the difficulty by translating 'and throughout etc

[2] The Dhammasaṅgaṇī is one of the books of the Abhidhamma (cf note to 44 109) It and its commentary the Atthasālinī were pu blished by E Müller (PTS 1885 and 1897) On *kaccha* 'elucidation see Cūlavs ed II Index 2 s v

[3] For the Paritta see Geiger Pali p 16 f Cf note to 46 5

[4] P *ācariyavādā* In the Mhvs (5 2) all these later schools are placed in opposition to *theravāda* the original school represented in the Pāli Canon

[5] P *sīhalaṭṭhakathā* For this see Geiger Pali p 17

[6] P *kathāmagga* concrete the traditional text as handed down to day, just as in JaCo I 2[7] [9] the word means traditional history

[7] For the history of the three Councils (*samgiti*) see Mhvs 3 4 5

[8] Lit 'hearken to it, all teaching being oral

[9] That is from the Old Sinhalese into the Pali tongue

[10] P *mahāpadhānaghara* By *padhāna* is meant the practices in which the zealous bhikkhu engages in order to attain through the

in the Sīhala tongue and the doctrinal system of the Theras
perfectly, reached the conclusion: it is just this system which
interprets the intentions of the Master of Truth; gathered 234
together there the community[1] and said: "give me all the
books that I may compose a commentary". To test him the 235
community gave him two verses with the words: "Show here
thy qualification! Once we have seen it, whe shall give thee
all the books." Briefly summing up the three Piṭakas[2] together 236
with the commentary he wrote the work called Visuddhi-
magga[3]. Then calling together the community who was versed 237
in the thoughts of the Enlightened One, he began to read the
work in the vicinity of the great Bodhi Tree. But the devatās[4] 238
to convince the people of his greatness, caused the book to
vanish; but twice and thrice he reproduced it. When the book 239
was brought forth a third time to be read the gods then pro-
duced the two other books. Then the bhikkhus read out all 240
the three books together. Neither in composition and content,
nor also as regards the sequence (of the subjects[5]), in the 241
teaching of the Theras, in the quotations[6], in words and sen-

various grades of ecstatic meditation to the dignity of the Arahant, of the "perfected".

[1] The *saṃgha*, that is the totality of the bhikkhus belonging to the vihāra.

[2] See Note to 37. 223.

[3] Visuddhimagga (ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids. 2 vols. PTS. 1920—21) alludes to the verse:

sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño cittaṃ paññaṃ ca bhāvayaṃ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu, so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ

which Warren (Buddhism in Translations, Harvard Oriental Series vol. III, p. 285) has rendered thus:

"What man his conduct guardeth, and hath wisdom,
And thoughts and wisdom traineth well,
The strenuous and the able priest,
He disentangles all this snarl."

[4] On those spiritual beings common to the popular belief called *devatā* see Zeitschr. für Buddhismus VII, p. 28. In the following verse they are called *Marū* "gods".

[5] Lit: regarding the earlier and the later.

[6] P. *pālīhi* refers to passages quoted from the canonical texts, the

242 tences was there any kind of deviation in all three books Then
the community satisfied and exceedingly well pleased, cried
243 again and again "without doubt this is Metteyya![1]" and handed
over to him the books of the three Piṭakas together with the
commentary Then dwelling in the Ganthākara-vihāra[2] which
244 lies far from all unquiet intercourse, he rendered the whole
of the Sihala *commentaries into the tongue of the Māgadhas,*
245 the *original* speech *of all* For beings of all tongues this
(rendering) became a blessing and all the teachers of the Thera-
246 vāda[3] accepted it as the original text Then having accom-
plished what he had to do, he set out for Jambudipa to adore
the sacred *Bodhi* Tree[4]
247 When Mahanāma had enjoyed the (dominion of the) earth
twenty and two years[5] and done many meritorious works, he
passed away in accordance with his doing
248 For all the power they had amassed and for all the glorious
splendours they had enjoyed all the rulers of the earth were
at the end unable to escape death With the thought thus
all beings are subject to the law of decay, the wise man should
forever entirely forsake the desire for wealth and even for life

Here ends the thirty-seventh chapter, called 'The Six Kings',
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious

foregoing *theraṭṭhakathā* on the other hand means quotations from the commentaries

[1] The next expected Buddha He is now living as a *Bodhisatta* in the Tusita heaven according to Mhvs 32 73 Cf Th Kern Manual of Indian Buddhism p 64 65 93

[2] *Cf 32 57 with note*

[3] See note to 37 227

[4] The sacred tree of Buddhagaya (see note to 37 216) of which *according to the legend the Bodhi Tree in the Mahavihara at Anuradha*pura is a cutting

[5] So also the Pujavaliya only 20 years according to the Rajavaliy According to Chinese sources *the king Mo ho nan (= Mahanāma) sent* a letter to the court of the Chinese emperor in the year which corresponds to 428 A D This however does not agree with the Sinhalese chronology as it is generally accepted See JRAS C Br xxiv nr 68 p 83

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE TEN KINGS

Mahānāma's son Sotthisena[1] was sprung from the womb 1
of a Damiḷa woman, but his daughter Saṃghā was the (daugh-
ter) of the Mahesī. Now after Sotthisena had begun to reign 2
he was killed by Saṃghā. The selfsame day she had the drum
beaten[2] and ceded (the sovereignty) to her husband, the um- 3
brella bearer[3] (of the king). The latter built the Chattaggā-
haka-tank and died in the course of the year.
Now a wise minister, a friend of this (umbrella bearer) 4
had the dead (prince) burnt in the (royal) demesne and secretly
made Mittasena a powerful rice thief, king in the belief 5
that he was suited for the sovereignty. He kept him in the
interior (of the palace) and under the pretext that the King
was ill, he himself wielded the sceptre. Now (on one occasion) 6
when there was a feast the people cried: "If a king is there,
let him come with us." When the Lord of men heard that, 7
he, arrayed in all his ornaments, said to those who led forth
the royal elephant: "this befits me not", and indicated the 8

[1] Pūjāvaliya, Rājāvaliya and Rājaratnākaraya call this prince Sengot. The two first sources agree that he was murdered in the afternoon of the day he succeeded to the throne.

[2] Government decrees were made public by beat of drum.

[3] P. *chattaggāhakajantuno*. The "umbrella bearer" who has to hold the umbrella, the symbol of sovereignty, over the prince is a high court official. We have all erred however (Turnour, Wijesiṇha and I myself in my edition of the Cūlavs.) in regarding *jantu* as the *name* of the official. The word means simply "individual, person" and stands almost pleonastically at the end of the compound, similarly to *putta*. In none of the other sources is the name Jantu met with. Rājāvaliya takes Chattaggāhaka (Sinh. *Satgāhaka*) itself for a proper name. In the Pūjā-

elephant made of stucco at the temple of the Tooth Relic[1].
At the words "it is the King's command", the elephant began
9 to move The (King) mounted it, rode round the town with
his right side towards it and when he reached the eastern gate
by the Pathamacetiya[2], he restored it to the Relic Temple[3]
10 *At the elephant wall*[4] *of the three great cetiyas*[5] *he had a*
gateway[6] constructed After doing many meritorious works
Mittasena died in a year[7].
11 The Damila named Paṇḍu had slain Mittasena in battle
and now having come over from the opposite coast[8], held sway
12 in Lankā All the kinsmen of the noble families betook them-

valiya and the Rājaratnākaraya the King is called Lāmāni Tis (Lambakaṇṇa Tissa) They agree in giving the duration of his reign as one year

[1] Turnour and W have misunderstood the passage, translating *sudhanāgam* as 'the white elephant', as if the text had *suddhanāgam* The miraculous story as related here, thus differs in no way from the version found in the Pūjāvaliya (Rājāvaliya and Rājaratnākaraya)

[2] On this cetiya see Mhvs 14 44 f, Geiger Mhvs trsl., p 95, n 2 Parker, Ancient Ceylon p 276 Remains of the thūpa have been discovered, as is shown by the newest plan of Anurādhapura

[3] The reading of the MSS *kātum nagaram appayi* is certainly wrong I have not however, ventured to alter it My translation gives the more likely sense This would be in Pāli something like *dhātughare tam appayi* The edition has *dhātunāgam samappayi* Accordingly W taking *pathamacetiyaṭṭhāne* as the more distant object of *samappayi* translates 'and commanded that he should (in future) be stationed at the Paṭhama Cetiya outside the eastern gate This is certainly wrong both as to sense and construction

[4] The *hatthipākāra* is the supporting wall of the terrace on which the stūpa stands It takes its name from the row of brick and stucco elephants which project from it and appear to bear the platform See below 39 30 and 41 95, as also Dīpavs 20 6

[5] Where three large cetiyas or thūpas are named together Ruvanveli (*mahāthūpa*) Jetavana (Eastern Stūpa) and Abhayagiri (Northern Stūpa) are meant.

[6] P *torana* probably at the stairs which lead at the four sides to the terrace

[7] Pūjāvaliya also gives *Mittasena one year (hawuruddak)*

[8] That is from Southern India

selves to Rohaṇa, on this side of the stream[1] the Damiḷas ruled.
Those of the Moriya[2] clan who had fled through fear of the 13
door-keeper Subha[3] dwelt here and there (scattered about
the country). Amongst these was a house-owner in Nandivā- 14
pigāma[4] named Dhātusena. His son Dāṭhānāma who lived in 15
the village Ambilayāgu, had two sons, Dhātusena and Silā-
tissabodhi, (both) by (a mother of) the same caste. Their mother's 16
brother had in faith undergone the ceremony of renunciation
of the world and lived in the dwelling built by Dīghasanda[5].
The young Dhātusena underwent with him likewise the cere- 17
mony of world-renunciation. Now once as the latter was reciting
(sacred texts) at the foot of a tree a cloud began to rain. A
snake seeing this, encircled him in her folds and covered the 18
book and the boy with her hood. The uncle saw that. Another
time another penitent in his wrath threw dung at his head 19
but failed therewith to disturb[6] his spirit. The uncle beheld

[1] On the left bank of the Mahaveliganga which was always regarded as the boundary between North Ceylon with Anurādhapura and later Polonnaruva as centre and the south-eastern province Rohaṇa.

[2] The organisation of society was throughout totemistic. Five clan names known to me: Taracchā, Lambakaṇṇā, Balibhojakā, Moriyā, Kuliṅgā (and probably Gokaṇṇā), are one and all names of beasts (hyenas, tigers or hares, crows, peacocks, fork-tailed shrikes). A sixth name Monasīhakā (90. 7) contains in its second part a beast name. To these must be added the name of the Sīhalā themselves, the "Lion-men" so-called after Vijaya who belonged to the Lion clan. His father was Sīhabāhu, his grandfather a lion. Fables according to which the members of a clan are descended from the animal whose name they bear are very frequent. Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur, II, 235; Frazer, Totemism, p. 3 ff.

[3] Mhvs. 35. 51 ff. Subha reigned 118-124 A. D.

[4] A Nandigāma-vihāra was built by that same Subha *gaṅgante*, that is on the bank, near the Mahāvālukagaṅgā (Mhvs. 35. 58). Nandigāma was not far from Kacchakatittha. See 37. 213, note.

[5] Dīghasandana was the senāpati of King Devānampiyatissa. He built (Mhvs. 15. 212 f.) a pariveṇa in the Mahāvihāra which was called after him.

[6] We have to imagine that Dhātusena was sunk in meditation which even the inconsiderate conduct of the penitent could not disturb. He

20 that too and thinking "that is in very truth a most excellent
being, without doubt he will become king, he must be pro-
21 tected", he went along with him into a vihāra and in-
structed him in the Gonisa-vihāra with the object "he must
22 be made a master in state-craft[1]" Paṇḍuka heard this and
sent people to seize him In the night the Thera had a dream
23 about it and fetched the boy away Scarcely had he departed
when the people surrounded (the house) but did not find him
in the pariveṇa The twain (uncle and nephew) departed thence
24 and when, farther south[2], they reached the great river called
Goṇa[3] then just in flood, they were obliged to halt, much
25 as they wished to press forward The Thera spake "even as
this river holds us back, so do thou (in future time) hold back
26 its course by collecting its waters in a tank,"[4] and he descended
with the boy into the stream A snake king saw the twain
27 and offered its back With its aid he reached the bank and
brought the boy to the frontier, and (once) while staying there

was not moved to indignation by it It must be noted that the same breach of conduct as that of the penitent is ascribed (38 113 f) to Dhātusena himself and that his fearful end was regarded as expiation of it

[1] The passage is somewhat dubious In the first place I believe that the words *ālayi tam vihāram upāgato* mean he fetched him *out of* the Dīghasanda pariveṇa As that lay in Anuradhapura the youthful Dhatusena was here not safe enough from possible machinations of the king His uncle took him to the Gonisa monastery (*gonisādivihāra* means the monastery whose name begins with *gonisa*) We do not know where *this monastery* was as it is not otherwise mentioned — possibly in the south of the capital For the rest I follow the conjectural *nītim* … *of* M Geiger which makes the sense far more pregnant As his uncle regards Dhātusena as the future king, his task is to acquaint him with *nīti* i e statecraft W turns Gonisādivihāra into the *oratio recta* I must render this youth accomplished at the Gonisāla (sic?) vihāra" — a meaning to my mind less probable

[2] *Or perhaps near the Dakkhinadesa* See 41 35 note

[3] Now the Kala oya flowing into Dutch Bay

[4] *An allusion to the* Kalavapi afterwards constructed by king Dhatusena See 38 42.

he got milk broth (as alms); he ate thereof and put what was over into the alms-bowl[1] of his nephew. The latter out of 28
reverence for the Thera poured the rice on the ground. Then the Thera perceived that he would enjoy the earth[2].

After reigning, King Paṇḍu died in the fifth year, likewise 29
his son Parinda in the third year[3]. Parinda's youngest brother, 30
Khuddapārinda, then ruled the wide earth and persecuted all those who attached themselves to Dhātusena. Dhātusena won 31
over the people for himself and fought against the King. The latter after accomplishing works both meritorious and evil, died at the end of sixteen years. Hereupon Tīritara became 32
King; two months later he was destroyed by Dhātusena who fought a great battle with him. After this prince had been 33
killed, the Damiḷa Dāṭhiya became king, but was slain at the end of three years by Dhātusena. Hereupon there followed 34
the Damiḷa Pīṭhiya who after seven months went to his destruction. The race of the Damiḷas was annihilated in battle with Dhātusena.

Now the Lord of men Dhātusena became king in Laṅkā. 35
Together with his brother he waged on the Island by every means unceasing warfare with the ravagers of the Island, the 36
Damiḷas, building[4] fortresses, twenty-one in number. And having thus thoroughly cleared the country and made its inhabitants 37

[1] P. *pattena*. Not "*with* the refection dish", as translated by TURNOUR.

[2] P. *bhuñjate mahiṃ* is a figurative expression for "ruling".

[3] I should now prefer the reading *putto Parindo pi tatiye, tassa bhātuko* etc. (with the Colombo edition and WIJESIṆHA). Rājaratnākaraya namely, speaks of six Damiḷa princes who had reigned together 27 years before Dhātusena ascended the throne. The same number is found in the Rājāvaliya and the sum of the single numbers in the Cūlavaṃsa gives the same figure, in so far as we allot Parinda a reign of not quite three years.

[4] TURNOUR's translation "he entirely extirpated the Damiḷas" etc. is inexact. That is not there. The acc. *Damiḷe* in 35 can only be governed by *katvā yuddhaṃ* in 36, which is treated (see also 76. 100) as a transitive verb: after he building fortresses had fought the Damiḷas, and after he had cleared the country and had made . . ., he restored . . .

happy, he restored to its former place the Order[1] which
38 had been destroyed by the foe. But wroth with those belon-
ging to noble clans or to kinship villages[2] who had atta-
ched themselves to the Damilas and protected neither himself
39 nor the sacred doctrine, he deprived them of their villages and
left their villages defenceless. But to all the people of noble
40 clans who had come to Rohaṇa and supported him he showed
fitting honour and (gave) marks of esteem, and to his ministers,
the companions of his misfortunes, he brought contentment.
41 By damming up the great stream[3] he created fields which were
permanently watered. In the Mahāpāli Hall he distributed rice
42 fare to the bhikkhus. As dwelling-place for cripples and for
such as suffered from a disease the wise (prince) built asylums.
By building the Kālavāpi[4] he dammed up the mighty Goṇa river.
43 After he had provided the peaceful Mahāvihāra with bands
of ornament[5] he had a house, worthy to behold, erected for
44 the Bodhi Tree[6]. He provided the bhikkhus plentifully with

[1] P. *sāsanaṃ* 'the doctrine' is used in exactly the same sense as we speak of 'church'. He restored the Buddhist church.

[2] The contrast is between single individuals (*kulīna*) and clan unions (*kulaggāma* with shortening of the final vowel metri causa). W.'s translation 'nobles and landlords' is inexact.

[3] The Mahāvālukagaṅgā (Mahāvelīgaṅgā).

[4] Now Kalāvewa, 25 miles (= 40 km.) S. S. E. of Anurādhapura.

[5] W. translates the passage thus: 'he improved the mahāvihāra by adding regular walks thereto'. It is quite right that here as one might expect *pantiyuttam* and *andkulam* are closely associated, but I do not know how *panti* can be made to mean 'walk'. In the Mhvs. the word is chiefly used of the decorative pictures done in relief or painted on the walls of the buildings. See 27. 37; 30. 65; 32. 4 etc. I should be inclined to use the word in this sense in our passage and in v. 69.

[6] P. *bodhigharaṃ*. Mr. Hocart writes (18. 9. 26) that by *bōgē* (P. *bodhigehaṃ*) is understood now, in Dambadeniya for instance, a small chapel erected *beside* the bodhi tree. At the same time he points out that the picture of a tree with a superstructure occurs in the Sanchi reliefs. I believe in fact that in the first instance *bodhigharaṃ* or *gehaṃ* denotes a building or a wooden roof erected *over* the bodhi tree, of course only over the trunk which in the case of the *Ficus religiosa* is always very short, while the straggling branches spread away over it. Cf. with this

the four necessaries and like Dhammāsoka[1] he brought about
a redaction of the three Piṭakas. He had eighteen vihāras built 45
and provided with revenues for the adherents of the Thera
School and (he erected) eighteen tanks on the Island[2]. Kāla- 46
vāpi-vihāra, the (vihāra) called Koṭipassāva, the (vihāra) called
Dakkhiṇāgiri and the vihāra called Vaḍḍha; the Paṇṇavalla- 47
kabhūta and the (vihāra) called Bhallātaka and in the district
Pāsāṇasinna the vihāra Dhātusenapabbata; the Maṅgana(-vihā- 48
ra), the Thūpaviṭṭhi(-vihāra) and the Dhātusena(-vihāra) in the
north, the Pācīnakambaviṭṭhi(-vihāra) and the Antaramegiri
(-vihāra); the (vihāras) Attāḷhidhātusena and Kassipiṭṭhika- 49
dhātusena, in Rohaṇa the (vihāras) Dāyagāma, Sālavāna, Vibhī-
sana and the vihāra Bhillivāna: these eighteen vihāras are 50
mentioned[3]. This best of men built the tanks Pādūlaka, Ham-
baṭṭhī, Mahādatta and others[4], and also eighteen smaller vihāras 51

51. 54. I had the impression on the spot in the Mahāvihāra, that it would have been an easy matter to shut off the terrace built round the sacred tree by means of a roof. For the analogous *thūpaghara* see note to 48. 66.

[1] Alluding to the Third Council at Pāṭaliputta under Asoka (269-227 B. C.) See Mhvs. trsl. p. LVI ff.

[2] The same is related of Dhātusena by the Pūjāvaliya, the Rājāvaliya and the Rājaratnākaraya. In these later sources the form of the name is Dāsenkāliya.

[3] Of these eighteen vihāras only four are also mentioned in other parts of the Cūlavaṃsa, namely Kālavāpi, Dakkhiṇāgiri, Bhallātaka and Sālavāna. The Kālavāpi-vihāra is perhaps the monastery which now bears the name of Aukuna-vihāra. If the Koṭipassāva-vihāra is the same as the Koṭipassāvana mentioned 37. 212, then it was not founded by Dhātusena but merely restored. The same is the case with the Dakkhiṇāgiri-vihāra which according to Mhvs. 33. 7, was founded by Saddhātissa, the brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. I am inclined (see D. Ferguson, JRAS. C. B. 1911, XXII, Nr. 64, p. 197 ff.) to identify this with the Mulkirigala-vihāra N. E. from Mātara. Instead of *vihāro vaḍḍhanāmako* the Col. ed. reads contrary to the MSS. v. *vaḍḍhamānako*, probably because a bodhi tree of this name occurs twice (13. 5 and 49. 15).

[4] Pūjāvaliya names the following tanks as Dhātusena's work: Kaḷā, Balalu, Keḷavasā, Badulu, Kaḷunnaru, Danavallā, Ūdanviṭi, Pāṇagamu, Mānāmatu, Kitmiṇi, Mahaḍabarā, Saṃgamu, Surulu, Malāsu, Mahamidel, Mahaeli. The two first are the Kala- and Balaluveva which are connected

and likewise (many small) tanks which he made over to them.
52 He removed the Mayūra-pariveṇa[1] which was five and twenty
cubits high, and replaced it by a pāsāda twenty-one cubits in
53 height. To Kumārasena (his brother) he made over his former
revenues and fixed them exactly[2]: (namely) one half to the
54 Kālavāpi and two hundred fields. He renovated the ruined
Lohapāsāda and he restored the dilapidated umbrellas[3] on the
55 three great thūpas. For the Bodhi Tree of him (the Buddha)
to whom was vouchsafed the highest enlightenment, he insti-
tuted a bathing festival like the Bodhi Tree festival instituted
56 by Devānampiyatissa. He set up there sixteen bath maidens
of bronze[4] and arranged for the adornment and consecration
57 of the Prince of the wise[5]. Since the planting of the great
Bodhi Tree[6] the rulers of Lankā have instituted in every twelfth
58 year (of their reign) a festival for the Bodhi Tree. After having
an image made of the great Thera Mahinda he brought it to
the spot where the Thera's body had been burnt[7], to organise

with each other. *The Rājaratnākaraya mentions Kalaballu (Kala-Balalu?)* and Badulu.

[1] The same as Mora pariveṇa 37. 172. See note to the passage. The new building was 6 ft. (roughly 1.80 metres) lower than the former pāsāda.

[2] P. *appetvā visodhayi*. Cf. skr. *viśodhayati* meaning "to make clear, to determine, to fix" (BR. the word *śudh* with *vi*).

[3] *Chatta* in P. denotes the sharp cone forming the top of a thūpa. It is a conventionalized umbrella as symbol of dominion, of the spiritual world dominion of the Buddha. For the three thūpas see note to 32. 10.

[4] All MSS. have *dhārandlohakaññāyo*. In spite of 43. 33 I do not venture to alter the traditional text into *-nārāyo*. What the "bath *maidens*" *were, whether perhaps bronze figures with water vessels,* we do not know.

[5] We must imagine a ceremony in which the image of the Buddha is clad in royal garments and solemnly consecrated just as a king at his coronation.

[6] By Devānampiyatissa in the Mahāvihāra according to *Mhv. 18. 1 ff.* The Bo tree here was according to the legend, a cutting of the tree at Bō Gayā.

[7] *Local tradition regards the remains on the north side of the Thū*pārāma as those of the cetiya built for Mahinda. To the *east of the* Thūpārāma lies the grave of his sister Saṃghamittā. *For the death and burial of the two see* Mhv. 20. 30 ff.

there at great cost a sacrificial festival. He gave orders with 59
the outlay of a thousand gold pieces[1], for the interpretation of
the Dīpavaṃsa[2] and commanded sugar to be distributed among
the bhikkhus dwelling there. Remembering how once a bhikkhu 60
had thrown dung at his head, he gave to the pariveṇa where he
himself had dwelt no gifts of any kind[3]. He undertook buildings 61
for the enlargement of the Abhayuttara-vihāra and for the
stone image of the Master (Buddha)[4] he had a shrine erected
with a maṇḍapa[5]. As the eye[6] placed by Buddhadāsa (in the 62
image) had been lost, he made a pair of costly jewels into eyes
for the Master. Further he wrought a gleaming diadem of 63
rays and out of dark blue gems a shining coil of hair, like-
wise a bandolier of gold and a tuft of down (between the brows)
and a golden garment, a mandorla of gold, a lotus flower and 64
a magnificent lamp. There also he presented countless robes of
divers colours[7]. In the image house of the Bahumaṅgala-ceti- 65

[1] Where only figures are given in the mention of values the uniform currency, the *kahāpaṇa* should be added. On this see Rhys Davids, Buddhist India p. 101 f.

[2] P. *dīpetuṃ Dīpavaṃsaṃ*. Fleet has translated this ingeniously as: "to write a dīpikā on the Dīpavaṃsa" (JRAS. 1909, p. 5, n. 1). In this *dīpikā* he recognises the (older) Mahāvaṃsa for whose composition an approximate date might thus be found. I was myself (Mhvs. trsl. p. XI f.) inclined to follow him. But I have since had scruples. Verses 58—59 belong in construction most closely together. Consequently *dīpetuṃ Dīpavaṃsaṃ* must refer to an action which took place within the framework of a festival. That however, can only have been a reading of the Dīpavaṃsa, perhaps with historical and legendary explanations, but not the composition of so voluminous a work as the Mahāvaṃsa.

[3] See above 38. 19. I believe we must read *attanā* instead of *-no*: "the pariveṇa inhabited by Dhātusena himself", an instrumental case being absolutely necessary in connection with the Partic. Praet. *vutthassa*.

[4] This stone image was a celebrated statue of the Buddha manifestly held peculiarly sacred and which is repeatedly mentioned under various names: here *Silāsatthar*, 39. 7 *Silāsambuddha*, 51. 77, 87 *Silāmayamunin-da*, probably also 38. 65 *kālaselasatthar* (see note to the passage).

[5] See note to 37. 103. [6] See above 37. 123.

[7] Verses 62-64 show us how people were accustomed to adorn th

ya[1] he erected Bodhisatta figures and in the same (image house)
66 he had a diadem of rays made for the image of the Master
in black stone[2] and for the world teacher named Upasumbha
67 Also he had the ornament described above made for the Buddha
image known as Abhiseka and a Bodhisatta temple on the left
68 side of the Bodhi Tree For the (Bodhisatta) Metteyya[3] he had
the complete equipment of a king prepared and ordained a
69 guard for him within the radius of a yojana[4] He had the
vihāras adorned with bands of ornament called dhāturāji and

Buddha statues and decorate them with jewels The *ramsicūlāmani* (often only *culāmani*) seems to be the bundle of rays or flames above the head which distinguishes the figures of the Buddha from those of his disciples (cf also below v 66 and Mhv 52 65 53 49) By *kesa vattamsa* we must understand the knot or tuft of hair on the top of the head so often found in Buddha images To imitate the blue-black colour of the hair it is here made of dark sapphires. The *hemacaddha* (cf *amsavaddhaka* Vin I 204[10]) is probably the carrying band for the alms bowl On a bronze figure of the Buddha in my possession there is a band over the left shoulder The tuft of hair above the nose (*unnaloma*) is a well known physical feature of the Mahavīra. *The golden* garment (*sovannacivara*) is the yellow robe of the Order of Buddha and of his disciples, the lotus flower (*paduma*) the throne on which the figure sits or stands The *pālajāla* (cf also Mhv 52. 65 53 50 as well as the inscriptional *pālalāla* Wickremasinghe EZ. I 221[11]) is the mandorla behind the figure as is frequently seen in bronzes and in the Buddha pictures of Central Asia (cf A von Le Coq Die Buddhistische Spätantike Mittelasiens V plate 7 18) Amongst the votive gifts there must of course be a lamp (*dīpa*). The robes of divers colours are probably draped about the image at various festivals according to the character of these.

[1] Probably the Mangala cetiya mentioned 37 163

[2] I suggest reading *bodhisatte ca tatth'eva Kālaselassa satthuno* with slight alteration of *tatthāsi* which is certainly corrupt. What follows shows that the different Buddha images had their special names The Kalasela was obviously so called because the statue was made of black stone (amphibolic gneiss?). It is very likely the same as the *Silāmaya buddha -atthar* (see above v 61, note) The Abhiseka is named again 39 6 40

[3] See 37 212 note

[4] Fleet (JRAS 1906 p 1011 f) calculates the Buddhist yojana as being 4 54 miles = roughly 8 km

(he erected) for a hundred thousand (gold pieces) a large and
splendid house for the Bodhi Tree. In the Thūpārāma (he in- 70
stituted) as offering to the thūpa a restoration of what was
ruined (in the thūpa). Likewise in the Temple of the Tooth
Relic he repaired what was dilapidated, and to the Tooth Relic 71
he dedicated a casket for the tooth relic, a halo made of clo-
sely fitting mosaic thickly set with precious stones[1] and golden 72
lotus flowers, and he instituted offerings without number. To
the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed robes and
other (gifts). Having undertaken renovations in the vihāras 73
here and there, he had some fine stucco work executed for the
wall of the (Relic) house. (In the same way) he had valuable 74
stucco work made for the three big cetiyas and put up a golden
umbrella[2] as well as a ring for protection against lightning[3].
Dhammarucika bhikkhus[4] dwelt (at that time) in the Mahā- 75
vihāra which had been destroyed by the ruthless Mahāsena.
After Dhātusena had built the Ambatthala-vihāra on the Cetiya- 76
pabbata[5] he wished to hand it over to the adherents of the
Thera School. But being entreated by the Dhammarucikas the
monarch accordingly made it also over to them. For the pro- 77

[1] W. here mistakenly connects *mahagghamaṇisaṃkiṇṇaṃ* with *pad māni* instead of with *raṃsiṃ ghanakuṭṭimaṃ*. For *ghanakuṭṭima* cf. Cūlavs. ed. II, List of Words s. v. *kuṭṭima*; further Mhvs. 51. 69.

[2] Cf. above note to 38. 54. The cones of the thūpas were gilded. Cf. with verses 74 and 75 also 41. 95.

[3] P. *vajiracumbaṭaṃ*. It is related Mhvs. 36. 66 of Saṃghatissa that he placed a *vajiracumbaṭaṃ* on the top of the Mahāthūpa. On this the Ṭīkā has the following interesting notice (p. 487, 19): *tatheva Mahāthūpassa muddhani satasahassagghanakaṃ mahāmaṇiñca patiṭṭhāpetvā tassa heṭṭhā asaniuppaddavaviddhaṃsanatthaṃ ādhāravalayañca katvā anagghaṃ vajiracumbaṭakañca pūjesīti attho*. It is thus a case of an appliance against lightning placed at the top of the cone of the thūpa. What is doubtful is whether *vajira* means here "diamond" or "lightning".

[4] A sect which according to Mhvs. 5. 13, branched off in Ceylon. For the history of this sect see A. M. Hocart, ASC. Mem. I. 15 ff.

[5] Name of the Missaka mountain (now Mihintale). Cf. above note to 37. 69. The Dhammarucikas, therefore, got possession of both vihāras, the Mahāvihāra and the Ambatthala-vihāra.

cession of the Relic he had a boat[1] made of copper and in-
stituted a regular alms with the produce of twice five ammaṇas
78 (field)[2]. Within and without the city this incomparable (prince)
like Dhammāsoka[3] built temples to the Victor (Buddha) and
79 raised images. What man would be capable of enumerating
one after another his meritorious works? Thus these have been
but superficially noted.

80 Dhātusena had two sons: Kassapa by a mother of unequal
birth and the mighty Moggallāna by a mother of equal caste,
81 also a charming daughter who was dear to him as his life.
On his sister's son he bestowed the dignity of senāpati[4] and
82 gave him his daughter (to wife). Without blame (on her part)
he struck her with his whip on the thigh. When the King
83 saw the blood-stained garment of his daughter and heard (of
the affair) he in his wrath had his nephew's mother[5] burnt
naked. From that time onward (his nephew) nursed hatred
84 (against the king), joined Kassapa, awoke in him the desire
for the royal dignity, estranged him from his father, won over
his subjects and took the ruler (Dhātusena) prisoner alive.
85 Thereupon Kassapa raised the umbrella of dominion and des-
troyed the people who sided with his father, having every
86 scoundrel as his comrade. Moggallāna whose intention it was
to fight him, betook himself, as he could raise no forces, to
87 Jambudīpa to find troops there. Now to torment still farther
the Lord of men (Dhātusena) sorely smitten as he already was

[1] The use of barks or boats for carrying the images or symbols of the Deity (here the relics) in festive processions is widespread. Germany offers numerous examples (Mannhardt, Wald- und Feldkulte, I. 593 ff., v. Schröder, Arische Religion II. 661 Anm.), but we meet with the custom also among the Egyptians (Tiele, Religion im Altertum I. 67) and among other peoples.

[2] P. *ammaṇa* is a dry measure for measuring corn, then also the measure for a field, as much as one can sow with an *ammaṇa*. In Sinh. an *ammuṇa* (see Clough, Sinhalese Dictionary) represents as field measure about 2 to 2½ acres (roughly 0.8 to 1 hectar).

[3] Cf. above 38. 44 with note.

[4] P. *senāpacca*, the dignity of commander in chief of the army (*senāpati*).

[5] Thus his own sister.

by loss of his kingdom, separation from his son (Moggallāna)
and by life in a dungeon, the deluded (Senāpati) spake thus 88
to King Kassapa: "There are treasures lying in the King's
palace, O King, has thy father told it to thee?" On the answer 89
"no" he said: "Knowest thou not his intention, O Monarch?
for Moggallāna he keeps his wealth". When he heard that, 90
this most wicked of men grew furious and sent messengers
to his father with the command to make known the place
where the treasure lay. The latter thought: this is a pretext 91
of the villain to kill us, and he kept silence. The messengers
went and told the King. He became very wroth and sent 92
(messengers) again and again. Dhātusena thought: it is well,
I will visit my friend[1], bathe in the Kālavāpi and then die, 93
and (he) spake to the messengers: "if he lets me go to the
Kālavāpi he shall learn it." The messengers went and told 94
the King and the King joyful in his thirst for gold, sent mes-
sengers to whom he gave a chariot with a damaged axle[2]. As 95
the Monarch drove thither, the driver who guided the chariot,
ate roasted corn and gave him also a little of it. He ate of 96
it, had joy over the man and gave him a leaf for Moggallāna
asking him to make him gate-keeper as a reward[3]. Thus is 97
good fortune fleeting as the lightning. How then can the sen-
sible man be intoxicated by it? When the Thera heard: the 98
King comes, he put aside the bean soup and chicken[4] he had
received remembering: the King likes that, and took his seat 99

[1] He means the Thera who had been his teacher. Cf. 38. 16 ff.

[2] P. *jiṇṇena-m-akkhinā*. W. translates "with his eyes sunk in grief", but *akkhi* is here not "eye", but „axle". The word for "axle" is otherwise *akkha* = Skr. *akṣa*. The form *akkhi* which is borne out by our passage, is important as it is nearer to the Latin *axis*, lit. *ašis*. In *jiṇṇenamakkhinā* the consonant *m* is as often used to remove a hiatus. See Geiger, Pāli § 73. 2. It would also be possible to read *jiṇṇena c'akkhinā*.

[3] The inf. *kātuṃ* is in a sense to be taken twice, first with the obj. *saṃgahaṃ*, then with the obj. *dvāranāyakaṃ*.

[4] P. *maṃsaṃ sākunaṃ* for *sākulaṃ* according to the perfectly correct conjecture of Sumangala and Batuwantudawa, primarily "flesh of birds".

(awaiting the guest) The King came greeted him respectfully
100 and took a place at his side Thus the twain sat side by side
(joyful) as if they had gained a kingdom, and their mutual
101 converse chased their cares away After the Thera had entertained the King, he admonished him in many ways and encouraged him to strive ceaselessly, showing him how the world
102 is subject to the law (of impermanency) Then Dhātusena betook himself to the tank, plunged as he liked therein bathed and
103 drank and spake to the King's henchmen ' This here, my friends, is my whole wealth[1]" When the King's henchmen heard that they took him with them to the town and informed the King
104 The Lord of men thought he is keeping his treasure for his son and as long as he lives he will estrange the people of the Island from me He was filled with fury and commanded
105 the Senāpati thus 'Slay my father" He (the Senāpati) rejoiced
(saying) now I have seen the back of my foe[2] Full of bitter-
106 ness, adorned with all his ornaments, he betook himself to the King (Dhātusena) and strutted up and down before him When
107 the King saw that he thought this villain wants to ruin my soul even as my body and bring it to hell Shall I fulfil his
108 wish by letting anger rise within me? Awaking loving thoughts within himself, he spake to the Senāpati "I have the same
109 feelings for thee as for Moggallāna" The other laughing shook his head When the ruler saw this he realised to-day even
110 he will slay me Thereupon the brutal (Senāpati) stripped the king naked, bound him with chains and fetters in a niche in
111 the wall[3] with his face outwards[4] and closed it up with clay
What wise man seeing this would still hanker after pleasures

[1] With these words Dhatusena points at the Kālavapi constructed by him

[2] That is I am the victor I have won the game

[3] Lit in the inside of the wall

[4] P *puratthābhimukham* W translates this with the face to the east This is of course possible but one sees no particular reason why he should face the east. According to my conception of the passage the idea is that Dhatusena's torture should be increased by his being a witness of the whole process of being immured

or life or fame? The Lord of men Dhātusena went thus after 112
18 years[1], murdered by his son, to the King of the gods. When
this king was building the Kālavāpi tank he saw a bhikkhu 113
sunk in meditation and as he could not rouse him out of his
absorption, he had a clod of earth flung at the bhikkhu's head. 114
The consequence of this deed experienced in his lifetime has
been described (in the story of his violent death).

These ten excellent kings also with all their treasures have 115
fallen into the jaws of death, robbed of their treasures. Can
a wise man when he sees the fleeting nature of the rich and
of wealth[2] crave for earthly joys[3]?

Here ends the thirty-eighth chapter, called 'The Ten Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. all give the same number.

[2] P. *bhogavato dhane ca.* The loc. *dhane* stands, as frequently, for the genitive *dhanassa.*

[3] W. does not translate this indispensable strophe. It occurs in all the MSS. known to me.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

1 Thereupon the wicked ruler called Kassapa sent forth his
2 *groom and his cook.* But as he was unable (through these)
to slay his brother, he betook himself through fear to Sīha-
3 giri[1] which is difficult of ascent for human beings. He cleared
(the land) round about, surrounded it with a wall and built
a staircase[2] in the form of a lion. Thence it took its name
4 (of Sīhāgiri). He collected treasures and kept them there
well protected and for the (riches) kept by him he set guards
5 in different places. Then he built there a fine palace, worthy

[1] Now Sigiri, about 38 miles S. E. of Anurādhapura and ten miles N. E. of Dambulla in the Central Province.

[2] P. *nissenigehaṃ*. The word cannot refer, as W. assumes, to the *galleries which partly cut into the rock lead halfway up the face of* the Sigiri rock, as *sīhākārena* is inapplicable to these. It is far more likely that what is meant is the staircase built on the north terrace of the rock at the end of the galleries where the second half of the ascent begins. This structure had in fact the form of a recumbent lion, perhaps of the fore part of the body. It was made of brick. The claws of the outstretched right paw of the lion still exist. Their dimensions — *they reach to the breast of a man standing upright* — give some idea of the gigantic proportions of the lion's figure. It appears there was a door between the two paws into the breast of the lion whence steps led through its body to the beginning of the staircase leading to the heights of the Sigiri rock. I am inclined to think that this staircase was of wood. There were no galleries on this part of the rock on its northern side. The ascent is made now by means of a steep iron ladder. The use *of the plural nissenigehāni* is due to the fact that the structure consists of a series of separate parts.

to behold, like another Ālakamandā[1] and dwelt there like (the
god) Kuvera. The Senāpati by name Migāra, built a pari- 6
veṇa called after himself and a house for the victor Abhiseka[2].
He sought (permission to hold) a consecration festival[3] for it 7
even greater than that for the stone image of the Buddha[4].
As leave was not granted him, he refrained with the resolve:
I shall seek for it (again) under the sovereignty of the right-
ful ruler.

Kassapa began to rue the deed he had done and with the 8
thought: how can I be saved? he performed many meritorious
works. He planted gardens about the gates of the city and 9
mango groves over the Island at a yojana's distance from each
other. He restored the Issarasamaṇārāma[5] so that it was 10
larger than the former ground[6], bought villages for its sup-
port and granted them to it. He had two daughters, Bodhī 11
and Uppalavaṇṇā; he gave their names and his own to this
vihāra[7]. When he handed it over to the samaṇas of the 12

[1] See above note to 37. 106.

[2] As to this and other images of the Buddha see 38. 65-67 with note.

[3] W. (note to the passage): "The *abhiseka* of an image is the setting or painting of its eyes, a ceremony generally performed with great splendour. It is the *Netra-pinkama* of the Sinhalese Buddhists". The name of the Abhiseka festival suggests however, that it had a still more comprehensive meaning.

[4] The festival instituted by Dhātusena for the Silā-Buddha is described 38. 62 ff. See the notes.

[5] Now the Isurumuni-vihāra, in the south of Anurādhapura situated not far from the Tissaveva tank. It is first mentioned under Devānaṃpiyatissa (Mhvs. 20. 14).

[6] I join *adhikaṃ* directly with *kāretvā* "he made . . . larger than . . . See the following note.

[7] Our chronicle here gets valuable confirmation from inscriptions. In an inscription of Mahinda IV. found in Vessagiri, it is stated that the King had taken care that the Isurameṇu-Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri-vihāra should be constantly supplied with water from the Tissaveva (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 31 ff.). The Vessagiri-vihāra lies only about 1/2 a mile south of the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra at the south-east corner of the Tissaveva. From the agreement of the inscription and the expression *kāretvā pubbavatthuto adhikaṃ* in v. 10 it is clear that Kassapa I. made a great

Thera School they were loth to take it, fearing the reproach
13 of the people[1], because it was the work of a parricide. As
however, the King wished to give it to them, he presented it
to the image of the Supreme Buddha Then the bhikkhus
14 agreed, thinking: it belongs to the Master[2]. In the same way
he built a vihāra in the Niyyanti-garden near the mountain,
15 which then bore their name[3]. He granted this vihāra equipped with the four necessaries, to the Dhammarucis[4] and in
16 addition a garden lying to the north of it Now once when
eating a tasty dish of rice prepared with sannīra[5] fruit, cooked
with butter and exquisite spices which a woman had offered
17 him, he thought: this is delicious, I will treat the brethren[6]
to it, and he had the like dish of rice given to the bhikkhus
18 along with a robe He kept the Uposatha festival[7] and cultivated the appamaññā[8], he took on himself the pious du-

monastic establishment out of the Vessagiri and Issarasamaṇa vihāras and that this enlarged monastery was named after his two daughters and after Kassapa himself WICKREMASINGHE's assumption loc. cit. is thus confirmed Vessagiri is first mentioned Mhvs 20 15 in close connection with Issarasamaṇa.

[1] Lit. "somewhat fearing what the world finds blamable".

[2] P *bhogo no satthuno*, thus something that benefits not the monastery or its inmates, but the Buddha himself

[3] Uncertain I take *Niyyanti* for the name of the garden The mountain near which it lies is very likely the Sīhagiri *Tesaṃnāmo* means the names of the King and of his daughters.

[4] See above note to 38 75

[5] P *sannīra* occurs besides here three times 74 204 as tree along with *kadalī pūga*, *nālikera*, as fruit along with many other fruits 100 5 and as blossom 100 26 It is pretty certain that what is meant is the royal coco-nut

[6] P *ayyānaṃ* according to the happy conjecture of S and B *Ayya* used of the bhikkhus in general is found for instance Vin I 101^{18}, it is frequently used with a proper name as *ayyo Ānando* Vin II 290^{18}, *ayyo Mahākassapo* S II 215^{31} etc

[7] That is he kept on the Uposatha days the five or eight Buddhist moral commands (*sīlāni*, see CHILDERS s v)

[8] By *appamaññā* certain virtues are understood which the believing Buddhist practises and which regulate his relations with the outside world There are four of these, D III 223 f *mettā* "a loving spirit", *karuṇā* "pity", *muditā* 'joyous sympathy", *upekhā* "serenity".

ties[1] and had books copied. He made images, built alms-halls 19
and the like in great numbers: always he lived in fear of the
other world and of Moggallāna.

Now in the eighteenth year the royal hero Moggallāna 20
came hither at the information of the Niganṭhas[2] with twelve
distinguished friends from Jambudīpa and collected troops at 21
the Kuṭhāri-vihāra in the Ambaṭṭhakola district. When the 22
King heard of it he thought: I will seize and devour[3] him,
and though the soothsayer declared it to be impossible, he
went forth with an array of forces. Moggallāna likewise (set 23
forth) with an army ready for battle, accompanied by his
heroic friends, like to the god Sujampati[4] who fares forth[5]
to fight with the demons. When the two hosts fell on each 24
other like two seas that have burst their bounds, they fought
a mighty battle. Kassapa espying a great stretch of swamp 25
in front of him, turned his elephant to seek another road.
When his troops seeing that, with the cry: Friends, our com- 26
mander here flees! broke up in disorder, the troops of Mog-
gallāna cried: "We see their backs"[6]! But the King with his 27
dagger cut his throat, raised the knife on high and stuck it

[1] The *dhutaṅgā* are certain ascetic observances of an outward kind thirteen in number. It is not expected that these should be kept simultaneously, but it is meritorious to observe one or other of them. They are meant primarily for the bhikkhus not for laymen.

[2] Name for the adherents of the Jaina sect.

[3] As a ferocious beast seizes his prey and devours it.

[4] According to the Abhidhānappadīpikā 18 name of the god Sakka or Indra "consort of Sujā".

[5] *Moggallāno pi* must be supplemented by the verb *nikkhami* from the preceding verse. The part. *gacchanto* belongs to Sujampati. It must not be regarded as representing a finite verb, as we have to deal here not with the description of a condition but with the narration of a fact.

[6] Cf. for this phrase 38. 105 with the note. The construction of the sentence is difficult. The Col. Ed. changes *balakāyā* into *balakāyo* and reads with the inferior MSS. *pabhijjittha*. It is possible to retain the reading of the better MSS. if we assume for this passage the freer use of the gerund in the sense of an absolute participle, as it frequently occurs in the later chapters. See Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. XVI; as also 48. 78—79.

28 in the sheath[1]. Moggallāna carried out the ceremonies of
burning, glad at his brother's deed[2] He took the whole of
29 the (royal) treasure[3] and came to the capital[4] When the
bhikkhus heard of this event, decently clad in their upper
and nether robes, and having cleansed the vihāra, they ran-
30 ged themselves according to rank When Moggallāna came
to the Mahāmeghavana[5], as the King of the gods to the
Nandana (grove), he made his great army turn back outside
31 the elephant wall[6]. He approached the community, greeted
it respectfully and pleased with this community, he as a mark
of distinction, presented it with his umbrella[7]. The community
32 returned it to him They called the spot the Chattavaḍḍhi[8],

[1] W has discussed the passage and the parallel passages 41 24 f 41 52 f, 44 112 and 116, 50 23 in detail p 6 ff All objections vanish if one takes *churikam* as the object of *ukkhipiya* and not *sisam* It is also the object of *hatthimhi appetvā* in 44 112 In 44 116 we have only *khipitvā churikam* and in 41 24 instead of it *katvā kosiyam asiputtakam* As to *sisam chindati* W himself has seen that it must not be translated too literally by he cuts his head , but by 'he cuts his throat This clearly follows from 41 52 f where we first have *chinditum sisam attano* and then *chindi kandharam* The meaning of our passage (39 27) is Kassapa dying swings his dagger in the air to call his brother's attention to his own suicide — Kassapa's date is approximately fixed by Chinese sources where we are told that a letter of the king was received at the Chinese court in the year 527 A D See JRAS C Br xxiv, Nr 68 p 65, H W Codrington H C, p 30

[2] Because he had thereby spared him the necessity of meting out justice himself

[3] P *sādhana* denotes the Regalia Cf *rājasādhana* 41 20

[4] Thus I translate *nagaram varam*

[5] The park in the south of Anurādhapura in which the Mahavihara lay

[6] The *hatthipākāra* is by no means the town wall as W thinks (the elephant rampart of the city) but the wall supporting the terrace of the Mahāthūpa The passage deals not with the march into the town, but with the entry into the domain of the monastery The bhikkhus are assembled on the terrace Moggallāna lets his troops turn back and goes up alone to greet them Cf above 39 10 with note

[7] 'In token of submission to the Church (W) The umbrella is the symbol of the ruler

[8] That is increase flourishing of the umbrella . Its value has

and a pariveṇa built there received this name. After he had
entered the city he visited the two other vihāras[1], honoured 33
also the community there and having attained to the great
kingdom, he protected the world in justice. But at the thought: 34
high dignitaries have attached themselves to my father's
murderer, he gnashed his teeth[2] with rage — therefore he
received the name Rakkhasa[3] — and had more than a thou- 35
sand of these dignitaries put to death. He cut off their ears
and their noses and sent many into banishment. When he 36
heard the (sermon about) the pious doctrine he became peace-
ful in spirit and well minded and instituted a great almsgiving,
as a rain-cloud (pours a shower of rain) over the earth. On 37
the day of the full moon of the month Phussa[4] he ordained
a yearly alms and since then this alms is customary in the
Island to this day. And the charioteer[5] who had given his 38
father roasted corn, brought his father's letter and showed
it to Moggallāna. When the latter saw it he wept, praised 39
the love he had borne to his father and he, the powerful one,
appointed him to the office of gate-keeper. And the Senāpati 40
Migāra who had sent him reports in a fitting manner, instituted
a dedication festival for the Abhiseka-Buddha according to his
desire[6]. The vihāras Daḷha and Dāṭhākondañña by name on 41
the Sīhagiri Moggallāna granted to the adherents of the
Dhammaruci and Sāgali Schools[7]. The Pabbata-vihāra which 42

been increased by the King receiving it again out of the hand of the bhikkhus.

[1] Namely Jetavana and Abhayagiri.

[2] P. *nīhari dāṭhaṃ*, lit. he revealed his eye-tooth, let it be seen, bared it. The alteration into *dāyaṃ* in the Col. Ed. is certainly wrong. It deprives the following *rakkhasanāmavā* of all sense.

[3] That is "devil". Characteristic of all representations of Rakkhasas (Skr. *rākṣasa*) are the powerful eye-teeth protruding from the mouth like the tusks of a boar.

[4] December to January. See calendar Mhvs. trsl. p. 2, n. 3.

[5] Cf. above 38. 95 f. [6] See 39. 6 f.

[7] The Sāgalikas are like the Dhammarucikas a sect only found in Ceylon. Mhv. 5. 13; 38. 75. The Dhammarucikas had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. See also 52. 17.

he had built he granted to the Thera called Mahānāma in
43 the Dīghāsana vihāra[1] Having built a shelter for bhikkhunīs[2]
called Rājinī, the wise (king) made it over to the bhikkhunīs
of the Sāgalika School
44 A man of the clan of the Lambakaṇṇas[3] named Dāthā-
pabhuti, who had been in the service of Kassapa, had in ill-
45 humour betaken himself to the Merelıya district and dwelt
46 there He had a son known by the name of Silākāla. He too
out of fear of Kassapa had betaken himself with his kinsman
47 Moggallāna from here[4] to Jambudīpa and had undergone the
ceremony of world-renunciation in the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra[5]
Fulfilling his duties to the community with zeal and great
48 skill he had (once) presented a mango fruit to the community
The community pleased thereat, gave him the name of Am-
49 basāmaṇera[6]. Therefore he bore that name Later on as
described in the Kesadhātuvaṃsa[7], he got possession of the
50 Hair Relic and brought it hither from that land Moggallāna
honoured him, accepted the Hair Relic, preserved it in a pre-
51 cious casket of crystal, housed it in a beautiful building with
a picture of Dīpaṃkara's[8] city and instituted with pomp a

[1] It is very probable that what is meant here is the vihāra built by Dīghasanda (see 38 16) But whether with the Col Ed we are at liberty to alter the name seems to me doubtful Mahānāma is the author of the older Mahāvaṃsa.

[2] P *bhikkhunupassayam* This is the usual name for vihāras intended for female members of the order

[3] One of the most famous clans in Ceylon from which sprang a whole *series of Sinhalese kings*

[4] The author lives in Ceylon and Anurādhapura. The former is for him *ayam dīpo* "this our island". Anurādhapura *idam nagaram* "this our capital 'here, hither from here" means "in to from Ceylon (or also Anurādhapura)" etc

[5] Cf 37 215 with note

[6] That means the novice with the mango fruit. After the *pabbajjā* and until the *upasampadā* one is not *bhikkhu* but *sāmaṇera* that is a future samaṇa, one in the making

[7] The work is unknown to us. Neither as regards period or content has it anything to do with the Chakesadhātuvaṃsa published by Minayeff JPTS 1885 p 5 ff

[8] Dīpaṃkara is the first of the 24 legendary forerunners of the Bu

great sacrificial festival. He had statues made of his maternal 52
uncle and of his wife and placed them there, as well as the
beautiful figure of a horse[1]. Further he had constructed a 53
casket for the Hair Relic, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa studded with
jewels, portraits of the two eminent disciples and a fan of
hair[2]. The King also made provision for the relic greater 54
than his own, and the Ruler entrusted Silākāla with the
keeping of the relic appointing him sword-bearer[3] — hence 55
he was known by the name of Asiggāhasilākāla — and gave
him his sister (to wife) together with (the necessary) revenues.
Here we give but a short extract; an intelligent man can find 56
a full account in every respect in the Kesadhātuvaṃsa. By 57
instituting a guard for the sea-coast he freed the island from
danger[4]. By a regulative act[5] he purified the good doctrine,

storical Buddha He worked in the town of Rammavatī or Rammanagara, Buddhavaṃsa 2. 207 ff.; JāCo I. 11⁹ ff. The conjecture *Dīpaṃkarassa nāthassa* of the Col. Ed. instead of *Dīpaṃkaranagarassa* is tempting. I have however, not accepted it, because it is difficult to see how the first perfectly clear and simple reading could be turned into the second. It seems to me that we have to deal here with a picture with which the house was decorated.

[1] W. has not properly understood the construction of the sentence. There can be no question of its being "other images also". The literal translation would be as follows: "having fashioned his uncle and his wife of gold, he placed the images there and a beautiful image of a horse" These two individuals had obviously played an important part in the bringing over of the relic, the horse too, very likely. It is impossible to say more in the absence of the quoted text (Kesadhātuvaṃsa).

[2] The assortment seems at first curious. We have to imagine the reliquary resting under a pillar-supported canopy, the *ratanamaṇḍapa*, on a royal throne. Umbrella and fan made of a yak's tail (*vālavījanī*), are attributes of the royal dignity. The portraits of the two *aggasāvakā* — Sāriputta and Moggallāna — stand at the side of the relic, as the highest dignitaries at the side of the throne.

[3] The *asiggāha* is like the *chattaggāha* (see 38. 3 with note), a high court official. Cf. 42. 42; 44. 43 ff. See the Introduction III.

[4] Of a hostile attack from India.

[5] P. *dhammakammena*. This is an act which the priesthood carries out according to the formalities laid down in the Vinaya. The King orders its carrying out. Cf. with this especially 44. 76, 52. It is

58 the Order of the Victor (Buddha). The Senāpati Uttara founded a practising-house[1] which was called after him. After Moggallāna had carried out meritorious works he went to his death in the eighteenth year (of his reign[2]).

59 Thus even he though better far than the ferocious Kassapa[3], was not able once his merit was exhausted, to conquer approaching death as if he were but its slave. Therefore the wise when they have conquered the fear of death, will be happy. Nirvana the highest eternal state of bliss is attainable (only) by him who knows the (nature of the) ego.

Here ends the thirty-ninth chapter, called "The History of The Two Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

always concerned with the removal of abuses which have crept into the Order and with the punishment of guilty bhikkhus.

[1] See 37. 232 with note.

[2] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give him 18 years.

[3] *Kassapakopano* is a transposition of *kopakassapassa*. Cf. 37. 69, n. The whole strophe is very corrupt in the MSS. I have attempted to reconstruct it in less arbitrary fashion than has been done in the Col. Ed.

CHAPTER XLI

THE NINE KINGS

After his death his vigourous son of god-like form, called 1
Kumāradhātusena[1] became king. In the vihāra built by 2
his father he had repairs carried out, he had a revision made
of the sacred texts and he reformed the Order. He supplied 3
the great community abundantly with the four necessaries and
after accomplishing many meritorious works, he passed away
in the ninth year[2] (of his reign). Hereupon his son Kitti- 4
sena became king. After he had in divers ways done meri-
torious works he was forced to quit the throne in the ninth
month[3]. His mother's brother, Sīva killed him and became 5
(himself) king; he did several meritorious deeds and was slain[4]
on the five-and-twentieth day by Upatissa.

[1] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. — in the first of these the King is called *Kumāradāsa* — tell of his friendship with Kālidāsa. Kumāradāsa flung himself into the flames of the pyre on which his dead friend was burnt and died with him. Popular tradition places this event in Mātara. Here as we observed for ourselves on the spot, the people are well acquainted with the names of the two friends and their tragic fate. Tradition makes Kālidāsa the son of the first minister of Kumāradāsa's father and the youthful comrade of Kumāradāsa. The grave of the latter in Mātara is still pointed out.

[2] Pūjāv. also gives him 9 years. Likewise Rājāv. (the translation gives erroneously 18 years).

[3] Rājāv. gives the length of reign as 9 years, Pūjāv. in accordance with Mhvs. as 9 months.

[4] Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. call the prince Mādisivraja. He reigned according to the Pūjāv. 25 days, Rājāv. has erroneously 25 years.

6 Then Upatissa[1], husband of the sister of Moggallāna and
7 his general, having slain Sīva, became king. After the king
by granting offices and the like, had won over the people for
himself, he gave his daughter (in marriage) to Silākāla to-
8 gether with (the necessary) revenues. King Upatissa had a
son, Kassapa. He was a hero associated with sixteen heroic
9 comrades of the same breed. He lived by his manliness in
pious fashion, showing reverence to the aged[2].
10 Silākāla whose heart was deluded by lust for power,
hereupon betook himself to southern Malaya[3], collected a
11 mighty force and plundering the frontier, arrived near the city
(Anurādhapura). When Kassapa the eldest (son of the King)
12 heard that, he mounted his favourite elephant, comforted his
father, took his companions with him and fared forth to meet
13 Silākāla. After the latter had been routed seven or eight times
and his courage had ebbed, he brought the districts east and
14 west by [illegible]se into his power and advanced to the Pācina-
tissapab[illegible][4] to renew the combat. Kassapa with his comrades
15 mounted his [illegible]hant, came thither, sent the rebels flying and
drove his ele[illegible] into the summit of the mountain. Hence they
16 called him Gu[illegible]pa. Silākāla remaining obdurate, made
the kingdom still [illegible] rebellious and brought it entirely into
17 his power. He advanced with an invincible army and train
of followers upon the town and besieged it. For seven days

[1] Sinhalese sources call this king Lāmāṇi Upatissa. He sprang thus from the Lambakaṇṇa clan.

[2] P. *jeṭṭhāpacāyaka* does not mean "honoured his parents greatly". the term is found in *kule jeṭṭhāpacāyika* Pv. 2 7. 18 beside *matteyya* and *petteyya*. Cf. further *kulajyeṣṭhāpacāyaka* Mahāvastu I 198[6]. It is a matter of the reverence shown to the oldest and noblest members of the clan.

[3] Name of the Central Province, the mountain country of *Ceylon*

[4] One of the mountains east of Anurādhapura King Jeṭṭhatissa I. (beginning of 4th century A. D.) had founded a monastery there and had brought the stone image of the Buddha from the Thūpārāma to the new vihāra (Mhvs. 36 127 ff.) His successor Mahāsena then transferred it to the Abhayagiri vihāra (37. 14). It was at the Pācinatissapabbata that according to 41 14 ff., the decisive battle was fought between Saṅghatissa and Moggallāna III.

the King's people fought, then they weakened. Thereupon 18
Kassapa thought: "All living creatures here are perishing be-
cause of the siege of the town, the troops are enfeebled, the
King is old and blind. I will take my father and mother 19
(for safety) to Merukandara[1], collect the troops and then
punish the rebels[2]." In the night he took his comrades and 20
the royal treasure[3] and set off for Malaya. But as the guides 21
did not know the way, they lost themselves and wandered
hither and thither near the town. Hearing of this Silākāla 22
hastened out and surrounded them. A terrible fight ensued.
As the battle went off like the battle of the gods and the 23
demons, when his comrades had fallen and the royal elephant
had succumbed, Kassapa handed him over to his driver, cut 24
his throat, wiped the blood from his dagger and stuck it in
the sheath. Then supporting both hands on the temples of 25
the elephant he sank down. Upatissa when he heard this,
died also, pierced by the arrow of grief.

When after a year and a half[4] (of his reign) Upatissa had en- 26
tered Heaven Silākāla became king. Together with his former
name he was called Ambasāmaṇerasilākāla[5]. Living for thir- 27
teen years (longer) he protected the Island in justice[6]. He had 28
delicious meats (prepared in the same way as) for the King,
distributed in the Mahāpāli hall and concerned for the wel-

[1] A district in Malaya which often served as place of refuge (cf. 44. 28, 47. 58 &c.).

[2] Here *me* stands for *mayā* and belongs to *niggaṇhiya* "by me is ... to be punished". The gerunds *katvā* and *saṃgahetvā* are then to be taken in conjunction with *me*.

[3] For *rājasādhana* see note to 39. 28. Cf. also 48. 89.

[4] Pūjāv. the same, Rājāv. however, one year and ten months.

[5] See above 39. 48—50.

[6] Pūjāv. and Nik.-s. call the King Lämäṇi-Ambaheraṇa-Salamevan (= Silāmeghavaṇṇa), likewise Rājaratn.; In Rājāv. he is called Lämäṇi-Akbō (= Aggobodhi). Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him in agreement with our chronicle, a reign of 13 years. Rājaratn. contains a chronological statement. It says that his reign began 1088 years after Buddha's Nirvana and 852 years after the introduction of the Buddhist doctrine into Ceylon.

fare of his people, he increased the revenues of the hospitals
29 Daily he sacrificed to the Bodhi Tree, he had images made and
to all bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed the three
30 garments[1]. He decreed throughout the Island preservation of
life for all creatures In most fitting manner he sacrificed to
31 the Hair Relic brought (hither) by himself. The Rahera canal
he made over to the Abhayuttara-vihāra Here beside the
32 Monarch of trees[2] he set up the throne called Kunta which
he had fetched away from the eastern vihāra of the adherents
of the Thera School. All his life long he performed meritorious deeds without number.

33 The King had three sons: Moggallāna, Dāṭhāpabhuti and
Upatissa To the eldest (Moggallāna) he handed over the
34 Eastern Province and after conferring on him the dignity of
the title of Ādipāda, he dismissed him with the words: "Go
35 and dwell there" He went and took up his abode there On
the second son (Dāṭhāpabhuti) he conferred the post of Malayarāja[3] and the province of Dakkhiṇadesa and entrusted him
36 with the care of the sea-coast[4]. But Upatissa, a young man

[1] Namely robe (*saṃghāṭi*), under-garment (*uttarāsanga*) and shirt (*antaravāsaka*)

[2] That is, beside the Bodhi Tree in the Abhayagiri vihāra (*tattha*!)

[3] I believe that *ṭhānam Malayarājaggam* means the same as *th Malayarājadim* or in composition *Malayarājadiṭṭhānam* But this is a circumlocution for *Malayarājaṭṭhānam*, as so often happens for instance *Kumārādidhatusena* (= *Kumāradhātusena*) 41 1 See following note for the title *Malayarāja*

[4] Here appears for the first time the title *ādipāda* which in course of time becomes the title for the princes of the royal house The heir to the throne is Mahādipāda The title *Malayarāja*, so frequent later, is here mentioned for the first time Apparently the owner of it was entrusted with the administration of the province Malaya, the central mountain country I regard the province called *desa Puratthima* as the one otherwise called *Pacīnadesa* "Eastern Province". *Dakkhiṇadesa* as H W. Codrington (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, JRAS C B XXIX, Nr 75, 1922, p 62 ff) rightly saw, is not a general term for the south of the island (Rohaṇa) but a special province the territory in the west of the mountains up to the sea The two provinces get their names from their position in relation to Anurādha-

of good looks he took to live with himself for he was particularly fond of him.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) a young merchant who 37
had betaken himself from here to Kāsipura[1] brought hither
from there the (book) Dhammadhātu[2]. The King as incapable 38
of distinguishing truth from falsehood as the moth which
flies to the lamp it takes for gold, when he saw it, believing 39
it to be the true doctrine of the Buddha received it with
ceremony. He showed it reverence and honour and placed
it in a house not far from the royal palace. Every year he 40
was wont to take it over to the Jetavana-vihāra and there to
arrange a festival which he made into a permanent institution[3],
regarding this as a blessing for all beings. After Silākāla had 41
thus performed numerous meritorious deeds he passed away
on reaching the thirteenth year of his reign, according to
his deeds.

After Dāṭhāpabhuti had seized the throne the deluded 42
one had his brother (Upatissa) murdered, because he sought
to hinder him, it not being his turn. When Moggallāna heard 43
that, he spake full of fierce wrath: "He hath usurped the
government though he had no right to it, without cause he

pura. It is worthy of note here that Dakkhiṇadesa is not yet, as regularly later, the province of the heir to the Throne, but is handed over to the second son, being apparently united with Malaya. Or does Silākāla wish for some reason or other that Dāṭhāpabhuti and not Moggallāna should be his successor?

[1] The town (in the land) of the Kāsis, that is Bārāṇasī i. e. Benares.

[2] According to the wording of the Pāli text, one is inclined to assume that *dhammadhātu* is meant for some relic of the Buddha, perhaps his *dhammakaraka*, his water vessel, and that this relic turned out to be a fake. The Nikāyasaṃgraha however, which treats the subject in greater detail (p. 16^{21}—17^{6}), says distinctly that it is a book containing the heretical doctrines of the Vaitulya School (see note to 42. 35). The King was not able to distinguish these teachings from the true Buddha doctrine. We must therefore assume that *Dhammadhātu* was the title of the book. The Nik.-s. gives the name of the merchant's son (*velañdaputrayā*) who brought the book as Puṇṇa.

[3] P. *kāresi cārittaṃ*; the infin. *kātuṃ* governs the acc. *mahaṃ*.

44 hath slain my youngest brother who spake the truth. I will
see that he has a merry reign[1]." He took a strong army
45 and advanced to the Rahera mountain. When the King heard
it, he erected an armed camp with troops ready for battle on
46 the Karinda mountain. Hearing of this Moggallāna sent the
King this message: "The people living on the Island have
never failed in their duty to thee or me and if one (of ús) is
47 dead, the government need not be divided between us[2]. Others
shall not fight therefore, we two alone will fight a combat
48 here on elephants". The other declared that he was willing
and armed with the five weapons[3], he mounted his elephant
and prepared at once[4] for battle, like Māra[5] against the Sage
49 (Buddha). Moggallāna also mounted his favourite elephant
and took his place. The huge elephants rammed each other.
50 A crash was heard at their onslaught like the roar of thunder
and sparks like lightning flew at the striking of their tusks.
51 The blood-stained elephants were as evening clouds. Wounded
by Moggallāna's elephant the King's elephant began to give
52 way. When the King saw that he made as if to cut his
throat. But Moggallāna greeting him with reverence, besought
53 him: "Forbear to do that!" Despite the request, he persisted
in his defiance and cut his neck. Thus after six months and
(six) days[6] he lost the kingdom.

[1] P *kārāpessāmi majjarajjam*, lit. "I shall see that his reign is an intoxicating draught". That means either a reign the pleasure of which is as short as that of an intoxicating drink, or in scorn a reign that will make as merry as an intoxicating drink.

[2] This seems to me the sense of this not quite easy passage: the people who are loyal to us both are then not obliged to choose between us

[3] According to Clough, Sinhalese Dictionary, s. v. the weapons were: sword, spear, bow, battle-axe and shield

[4] P. *otthari* "descended (into the arena, to the place of combat)".

[5] Māra, the tempter, who with his army of demons fights against Buddha in the night of enlightenment and is routed by him, is a favourite subject for artistic representation. Thus at Borobudur, relief nr 94 (I. gallery, main wall, upper row) Cf N. J. Krom, the Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabuḍur, p. 102 ff.

[6] According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he reigned six months

Hereupon the mighty Moggallāna became king on the 54
Island. On account of his mother's brother[1] they called him
Cūla(moggallāna). He had poetic gifts without equal, as 55
highest (good) he held the three (sacred) objects[2], He was an
abode of virtues like generosity, self-control, purity, goodness.
By largess, friendly speech, by working for the good (of others) 56
and by his natural feelings for others[3], he won over the mass
of his subjects. By almsgiving and the (founding of) vihāras, 57
by (gifts of) medicine and garments he won the community
of the bhikkhus and by just protection. While distinguishing 58
the preachers of the doctrine by abundant gifts of honour, he
had the three Piṭakas together with the Aṭṭhakathā[4] recited.
Boys he lured with sweetmeats which delighted them and had 59
them constantly instructed in the good doctrine, he, the sage
who was a shining light of the good doctrine. He also com- 60
posed a poem in praise of the good doctrine which he, the
best of men, from the height of his elephant[5], recited at the
close of the sermon, in the town. He dammed up the Ka- 61
damba river[6] among the mountains forming thereby the
Pattapāsāṇavāpi, Ḍhanavāpi and Garītara tanks. With the 62
thought: this is a work that ensures long life, he, full of zeal,
had the sacred texts written down and a solemn festival held
for the (three sacred) objects. While full of pity for the world 63
as a mother for the son of her womb, he died, having given
and enjoyed according to desire, in the twentieth year (of
his reign)[7].

[1] P. *ayyakaṃ* = Moggallāna I. who was his *mātula*, since according to 39. 55, his father Silākāla had married Moggallāna's I. sister.

[2] The *vatthuttaya* are the Buddha, his doctrine (*dhamma*) and his Order (*saṃgha*).

[3] P. *samānattassabhāvena*. By this the *cattāri saṃgahavatthūni* are meant. See note to 37. 108.

[4] That is the sacred texts together with the commentaries.

[5] P. *kuñjarasekhare nisā*. Here *nisā* stands for *nissā* metri causa and the latter for *nissāya* as expressing a local relation.

[6] The river flowing past the east side of Anurādhapura, now called Malvatu-oya.

[7] Pūjāv. and Rājāv.: 20 years. In both works and in the Rājaratn. the king is called Daḷa-Mogalan. See below note to 44. 63.

64 His Mahesī had killed his kindred with poison. She then
made her son king and carried on the government herself.
65 Lord of men Kittisirimegha thus made king, at once had
the house of the Monarch of trees[1] covered with tin plates.
66 For the poor, for travellers and beggars he instituted a great
almsgiving. As protector of the road in such manner he could
67 be useful to all[2]. But in all enterprises the Mahesī took the
lead, thus everything in his kingdom was turned upside down.
68 The royal officials and the high dignitaries thought only of
bribery, and the powerful in the land terrorized the weak.
69 At the time of Silākāla there lived in a village called
Sangilla, a man called Bhayasīva, a scion of the Moriya clan.
70 Sīva had a son by name Aggabodhi and also a sister's son
71 known by the name of Mahānāga. His sister's son was of
tall stature, Aggabodhi was handsome[3]. On account of his
72 high-soaring plans, the vigorous Mahānāga gave up field labour and led a robber's life in the forest. Once when he
73 caught an iguana[4] he sent it to his aunt[5]. When she saw

[1] The Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra.

[2] The conjectural *maggamālo* "road-hall" (perhaps = rest house) of the Col Ed for *-pālo* is without doubt tempting According to it W. translates as follows "Yes, he was like unto a public hall of charity wherein all men were able to partake freely of according to their necessities" I have however, scruples about taking such liberties with the MS. reading, more especially as it gives tolerable sense In the foregoing travellers and wandering beggars have been mentioned Here the compiler of our chronicle adds the remark the king would have been a signpost and a guide to all these (*sabbopabhogiyo*, lit = one who must or can be enjoyed by all), had not the queen prevented him She interfered everywhere and thereby brought the kingdom to chaos

[3] An alteration of the text is certainly necessary if the MSS. have *bhāgineyyo mahānāgo aggabodhi ca sundaro* The writer of S. 6 has felt that, when he has changed *sundaro* into *rā* But it seems to me that in this verse a contrast, not a resemblance, between the two cousins has to be emphasized, to make the future conduct of Mahānāga intelligible I should incline therefore, to read *mahākāyo* instead of *Mahānāgo* and refer the reader to the critical note in my edition.

[4] P *godhā*, Sinh. *goyā* Two species are distinguished: *talagoyā* "land iguana" (*Varanus dracaena*) and *kabaragoyā* 'speckled iguana" (*Hydrosaurus salvator*) The flesh of iguanas is eaten.

[5] P *mātulānī*, the wife of the mother's brother, hence the wife of Bhayasīva.

the iguana she understood (what he wanted) and ordered to
send him a basket of corn[1]. He also sent to the blacksmith
a hare and he did the same (as the aunt). From his sister[2] 71
he begged seed corn and a bringer of the seed corn[3]; she
handed him over a slave and provided him secretly with food
and drink.

Now during a famine a certain man, skilled in magic spells, 75
in order to get alms, was wont to beg food from everybody
clad in the robe of a bhikkhu. He had betaken himself to 76
the village (of Saṅgilla) but as he got no food, overcome
with hunger, he sat down trembling. When the merciful 77
Mahānāga saw him, he had pity on him, took the alms-bowl,
but although he traversed the village in all directions, he got 78
not even rice soup. But when he gave up his upper-garment,
he got food. The other ate, was content and thought: I will 79
make him worthy of the kingdom on the Island. He took him
with him and came in a moment to the Gokaṇṇa[4] sea. Sea- 80
ting himself there and murmuring in the usual way the for-
mula of incantation, he conjured up the Nāga King in the 81
night of the full moon of the month Phussa[5]. "Touch the
great Nāga[6]", he commanded Mahānāga. In the first watch

[1] P. *pasaṃsayi* must not be corrected. The root *saṃs* is intimately connected with *sās*, just as in Skr. *śaṃs* and *śās* merge in each other; *pasaṃs* means here "to determine, to direct". The aunt understands that by sending the iguana her nephew wishes to indicate that while he has the flesh of game in abundance, he lacks bread.

[2] The son of this sister is (42. 1) the future king Aggabodhi I.

[3] P. *bījagāha*, purposely formed like *asigāha*, *chattagāha*.

[4] *Gokaṇṇa(ka)* is also 57. 5 the theatre of a similar scene of magic as the one here described. In 71. 18 it is the farthest spot down the Mahaveliganga ("from Sarogāmatittha as far as Gokaṇṇa"), which must be protected from the enemy in Rohaṇa. As in our passage it is described as *mahaṇṇava* "ocean", it can be no other than the mouth of the Mahaveliganga, the Koddiyar Bay, the Bay of Trincomalee.

[5] December to January.

[6] The Nāgas are semi-divine beings in the form of snakes. They are always held to be zealous worshippers of the Buddha and of his teaching. They are represented in human form with a snake's head growing from between the shoulder blades over the head.

of the night, through fear, he did not touch the Nāga who
82 had appeared. It was even so in the middle watch of the
night. But in the last watch he caught him by the tail and
(immediately) let go of him. (Only) with three fingers had
83 he touched him[1]. When the magician saw that he foretold:
"My effort succeeds: After thou hast had war with three kings
84 and slain the fourth, thou shalt be king in thy old age and
live yet three years; and three people out of thy clan will be
85 kings (after thee). Go thither, serve the King; later thou
shalt witness my power." With these words he sent him forth.
86 Mahānāga went, sought the monarch[2] and entered his service.
The King made him collector of revenue in Rohaṇa and he
87 collected many goods which were produced there. The King
was pleased with him and gave him the rank of an andhasenā-
pati[3] and commanded him to betake himself thither (to Rohaṇa)
88 again. He took the son of Bhayasīva and his sister's son[4]
with him, went thither and raised rebellion in the whole pro-
89 vince. He made of Rohaṇa a territory whose products fell
exclusively to himself and took up his abode there[5]. In order
to wage war with Dāṭhāpabhuti he advanced with a great
90 array of forces, but from fear of Moggallāna[6], he returned to

[1] W translates· "he raised it by the tail with three of his fingers and dropped it", but *khip* does not mean "to raise" nor *chup* "to drop". In my edition the punctuation of the text is also wrong. One must place the semi-colon after *khipi* and take *tīh' evam angulīhi sa tam chupi* as a connected sentence.

[2] The event takes place, as is apparent from v. 69 and from what follows, in the time of King Silākāla.

[3] This title only occurs here See Introd III

[4] The former was called Aggabodhi (41. 70). By *bhāgineyya* we have probably to understand the nephew of Mahānāga who according to v 93 died prematurely

[5] The present part *vasam* is used here instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state

[6] Before it came to a fight, the reign of Dāṭhāpabhuti had come to an end, after lasting six months.

Rohaṇa. While he dwelt there he heard of the confusion[1] in
King Kittsirimegha's kingdom. Mahānāga thought it was 91
now time to seize the government, set out hastily from Rohaṇa,
slew the Ruler on the nineteenth day[2], took over the 92
government himself and reestablished order. Then he sent a
letter to his sister's son bidding him come. The latter coming 93
turned back because of an (unlucky) omen and died. Thereupon
Mahānāga out of gratitude, made the son of his mother's
brother (Aggabodhi) Uparāja[3]. After building an irrigation 94
trench round the Monarch of trees he had a roof put over
its golden house and set up images of the King of Sages. He 95
decorated the three great cetiyas with stucco work and (put
up) a protecting ring (against lightning). He also repaired
the elephant terrace and the paintings[4]. The weaver's village 96
Jambelambaya[5] he affiliated to the Uttara-vihāra[6] and [illegible]

99 the bhikkhus He handed over to the Ascetics[1] a thousand fields (watered by the tank) called Dūratissa For the inmates of the Mahāvihāra he instituted a permanent (dole of) rice
100 soup The Ciramātikavāra (canal) he granted thither, rejoicing at virtuous dealing In the Mayūra-pariveṇa[2] he undertook
101 renovations and in the Mahādevarattakurava-vihāra in (the district of) Kāsikhaṇḍa he restored the dilapidated Anurārāma
102 After he had performed in this and in other ways works which lead to Heaven he joined after three years[3] the company of the gods

103 These eight kings who were all contented in spirit[4], whose wealth was endless as that of the King of Kings[5], who gloried in their troops, their elephants, their chargers and in the chariots of their heroic army[6], they had finally to surrender all and forsaken by their followers, mount the pyre. The wise

[1] I do not think that we can connect *tapassinam* directly with *Mahāvihāravāsinam* The former belongs to the first the latter to the second half of the verse The ascetics do not live in the vihāra but in the *ārāma* Probably the ascetics of the Tapovana 52 22 53 14, 54 20 are meant the settlement in the wilderness west of Anurādhapura recently more accurately investigated by AYRTON and HOCART See Memoirs Archaeol Survey Ceylon I 1924 p 18 ff

[2] See 37 172 and 38 52 with the notes

[3] Pūjāv and Rājav call the prince Senevi or Senevi Mānā The duration of his reign is given as 3 years In Rājaratn and Nik s. he is also called Senevi After him all four chronicles insert a king whose name is missing in the Cūlavaṃsa. Pūjāv Lāmāṇi Siṅgān Saladaḷabonā (9 years), Rājav Lāmāṇi Siṃha Saladaḷabōnā (9 years) Rajaratn and Nik s Lāmāṇi Singānāya

[4] Because they had attained the highest human goal, the dignity of kingship

[5] The word *rājarāja* denotes also in Skr Kuvera, the god of wealth

[6] The two first lines of the strophe offend repeatedly against the law of style They can only be translated according to their sense *Rājarājena rūpā* and *narakarituragā sūrasenārathehi* are disintegrated compounds They stand instead of *rājarājarūpā* ("rūpa = like", as in *bhagavantarūpa*, D I 51[18]) and *narakarituragasūrasenārathehi*

man when he remembers this should, if he seeks his salvation, harbour the wish to fling away from him the happiness of existence.

Here ends the forty-first chapter, called 'The Nine Kings'[1] in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The MSS. have it is true, *aṭṭharājako* "the eight kings". Cf. the note to the signature of the following pariccheda.

CHAPTER XLII

THE TWO KINGS

1 Aggabodhi the highly favoured of fortune, sister's son of King Mahānāga[1], now became king whose aspiration was
2 the attainment of the highest enlightenment. In splendour imitating the sun, in charm the moon with full disk, in stead-
3 fastness the Sumeru mountain[2], in depth the ocean, in firmness the earth, in impartiality[3] the wind, in insight the ma-
4 gician among the gods[4], in purity the autumn heavens, in the enjoyment of wishes fulfilled the King of the gods, in wealth

[1] Here S. and B. and W. obviously dependent on their rendering, translate *ikbiti Mahanaga naramindulu mayilpit*, W.: the son of Mahanāga's mother's brother. In itself that would be quite simple. Aggabodhi would then be the son of Bhayasīva mentioned 41. 70 whom Mahanāga according to 41. 93 appointed uparāja. But there is one difficulty about the matter. It absolutely contradicts the text. Aggabodhi is here perfectly plainly described as *bhāgineyya* of Mahānāga. The Pūjāv. also calls him *Mahanagaya bana* and likewise the Rājāv. We must stick to this if we wish to keep firm ground under our feet. We *must thus assume that the Cūlavaṃsa says nothing about the after fate* of Bhayasīva's son, just as it is so often silent where we should like to hear more, and that the Aggabodhi named in 42. 1 has nothing but the name in common with him. Smith's genealogical tree (in his very valuable Index to the Mahāvaṃsa) which rests on the translations, needs correction accordingly.

[2] Sumeru is the same as Meru or Hemameru. Cf. 37. 79 with note.

[3] P. *samavutti* refers to the impartial demeanour towards others, none being favoured, none being disadvantaged, as the wind blows equally for all beings without distinction. It is interesting to find quite *similar phrases as those in v. 2 and 3 in an inscription* of Mahinda IV (Wickremasinghe, Ep. Z. I. 225).

[4] That is Bṛhaspati.

the commander of treasures[1], in justice the upright Vāseṭṭha[2],
in courage the king of beasts, in royal virtues a ruler of the 5
world, in generosity a Vessantara[3], it was thus his people
knew him. On his mother's brother he conferred the dignity 6
of uparāja, on his brother that of yuvarāja, on his sister's son
that of king of Malaya[4]. To the most distinguished officials 7
also he gave positions according to their merits. He won over
his subjects by the heartwinning qualities and by the royal
virtues[5]. The province of Dakkhiṇadesa with the appropriate 8
retinue[6] he made over to the Yuvarāja. The latter while he
dwelt there, built the Sirivaḍḍhamāna tank. After the wise 9
(prince) had erected the Giri-vihāra intended for the com-
munity (of the bhikkhus) he granted it two hundred fields
for the support of the community. To the Malayarāja he gave 10
his daughter Dāṭhā by name (to wife); he also built the pari-
veṇa which bears the name Sirisaṃghabodhi. For Mahāsiva 11
he built a pariveṇa[7] which was called after him. His com-
panions also were chiefly intent on meritorious works. Thus 12
by a pious mode of life[8] he followed the good old custom

[1] The term *amaramantar* applied to Bṛhaspati here bears out his close association with the Atharvaveda given him in the Indian epics. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 181. — The King of the Gods is Indra, the Lord of treasure Kuvera.

[2] A ṛṣi, a primeval sage (Skr. *Vasiṣṭha*).

[3] Vessantara was the last human incarnation of the Buddha. His history is told in the Jātaka bearing his name (Nr. 547) Fausböll's edition, VI. p. 479 ff.

[4] Cf. for these titles the notes to 41. 33-35.

[5] See notes to 37. 107 and 108.

[6] P. *sayoggaṃ*. the adj. *yogga* is made into a substantive by supplementing it with a nominal term like "accessories, equipment, retinue". *Sayoggabalavāhana* in 44. 84 is used in the same connection. Here for the first time we have the Southern Province, the *dakkhiṇadesa* as territory reserved for the heir to the throne, as is thenceforward the rule. Cf. also the note to 41. 35.

[7] Note to 37. 63.

[8] P. *sādhūpacārena*. W. translates this: "by continually keeping the company of good men", which is also possible.

and to remove hindrances, he restored[1] it where it had fallen
13 into decay During his reign poets wrote numerous poems in the Sihala tongue which were distinguished by various
14 useful doctrines[2] In the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra[3] he erected a splendid pāsada[4] and *in the course of nine years* he cleared the
15 island of all briers[5] After building the vihāra called Kurunda destined for the whole Order (of bhikkhus) and a tank of the same name[6] and (after planting) a cocopalm garden three yo-

[1] Refers directly to the good old custom (*poranam dhammiyam vi thiti*) which is figuratively likened to a building that has fallen into decay and must be restored The hindrances are things actions circumstances which obstruct the path to delivrance

[2] So I translate *naya* which is chiefly used of prudent policy The names of the twelve poets said to have flourished under Aggabodhi I are enumerated in the Pujav the Rajav and the Nik s

Pujav	1	Dāhami	Rajav	Dahanet	Nik s	Dāmiya
	2	Temal		Pusu		Suriyabahuya
	3	Bābiri		Bāri		Bābiriya
	4	Bisodala		Miyo		Dalabisoya
	5	Anurut		Kuma		Anurutkumaruya
	6	Dalagot		Dalagot		Daḷagotkumaruya
	7	Puravaḍu		Purava		Puravaḍukumaruya
	8	Dalusalakumaru		Dasala		Dalasalakumaruya
	9	Kitsiri		Kitsiri		Kitsirikumaruya
	10	Kasub		Kāsubu		Kasuḷ kotuñpaya
	11	Koṭa		Koṭa		Sakdamalaya (?=2)
	12	Apa		Apaya		Asakdamalaya

In addition it is stated in the Pūjav and Rajav that the Thera Dhammakitti (s nh Dāmi Dāhāmikit) held office under King Aggabodhi

[3] That is the Southern Monastery According to Mhvs 33 88 its builder was Uttiya one of the warriors of Vaṭṭagamaṇi It lay *nagaramhā dakkhiṇato* In the latest plan of Anuradhapura the Dakkhiṇa vihāra is identified with the cetiya known in local tradition as Elara's tomb (Cf Mhvs 25 72 73) As regards this monument, I should prefer keeping to the local tradition The Dakkhiṇa vihara has thus still to be identified.

[4] See note to 37 59

[5] Said figuratively *kantaka* thorn is used of all enemies of the throne and the church of all pests of the organism of the State

[6] The building of the Kurunda tank is also narrated in Pūjav Rajav and Rajaratn H W Codrington (H C p. 85) identifies it with the Giant's tank near Mannar

janas in length, he granted it to Mahāsiva as his dwelling[1] 16
and in addition to it revenues, honours and distinctions and
a hundred monastery attendants[2]. Near to it he built the 17
Ambilapassava-vihāra and granted the village of this name to
the Ascetics of the Thera School[3]. To the Unnavalli-vihāra 18
he granted the far-famed village of Ratana[4] and placed (in
the vihāra) a stone image of the Master. In Kelivāta he built 19
the (vihāra) called Sumanapabbata and beside the Bodhi temple
a stone terrace with a large oil pit[5]. After he had restored 20
the Lohapāsāda, he distributed at the dedication festival of
the pāsāda to six and thirty thousand bhikkhus the three gar-
ments[6]. He assigned to it a village and ordered that it should 21
be guarded. In the Hatthikucchi-vihāra[7] the enlightened
(prince) likewise erected a pāsāda which bore the name of his
daughter. He kept piously to the instruction of the bhikkhu 22
Dāṭhāsiva and living according to the law, he looked after
him heedfully[8]. Further he built the great vihāra Mūgasenā- 23

[1] The Col. Ed. differs greatly here from the MSS. It reads *mahāsīmadvayañceva sassaṃ kārayituṃ adā*, but it is just the first syllables *mahāsiva* which are well preserved in all the MSS. It seems to me very doubtful for the rest, that *mahāsīmadvayaṃ* should mean "two large tracts of defined land" as translated by W. For *sīmā* I know only the meaning "boundary", but not "defined territory".

[2] See note to 37. 63.

[3] See notes to 41. 99 and 37. 227.

[4] Is Ratanagāma not the present Ratnapura? The epithet *dīghavaṇṇita* would then point to its having been famous then as a mine of precious stones. Here attention may also be called to the district Ratanākara-raṭṭha (69. 31) which lies in the Southern Province.

[5] The Bodhi temple in the Mahāvihāra is meant here (note to 38. 43). The "oil pit" was probably a cup-like hollow intended for the reception of the oil presented for festive illumination.

[6] See note to 41. 29.

[7] Is also mentioned 48. 65 in the reign of Aggabodhi VI and 49. 76 in that of Dappula II.

[8] Apparently Dāṭhāsiva took a post at court corresponding to that of the *purohita* in the Indian courts. This is the beginning of the political influence of the bhikkhus. Cf. 57. 38 f. and note.

pati and assigned it[1] the village Lajjika for the (necessary)
24 maintenance of the slaves For the merit of King Mahānāga King Aggabodhi built a (vihāra) called by his name[2] and assigned it to the Grand Thera who was versed in the three
25 Piṭakas[3] But he who no longer possessed wishes, handed over the vihāra to sixty-four bhikkhus of his kind who practis-
26 ed yoga[4] After building the Bhinnorudipa(-vihāra) for the same (thera) who dwelt in the Mahāpariveṇa[5], and granting[6]
27 it (revenues) from Vaṭṭākārapiṭṭhi, he erected halls for the Uposatha festival[7] in the vihāra called Dakkhiṇāgiridalha, in
28 Mahānāgapabbata and in the Kālavāpi-vihāra In the Abhaya (giri)-vihāra he constructed a large bathing tank and on the Cetiyapabbata he provided a permanent water supply for the
29 Nāgasoṇḍi tank[8] After having the Mahindataṭa tank[9] constructed in the proper way, he decided to set up (the image

[1] The reading *ekassa* which W accepts is certainly wrong It can only be a question of a foundation for the benefit of the vihāra mentioned in the first half of the verse and which is alluded to by *etassa*

[2] *Vihāraṃ* must be inserted from v 23 We might translate "he gave it (i e the Mūgasenapati vihāra) the name Mahānaga vihāra The building of this vihara by Aggabodhi (*Mānāradapiriveṇa*) is also mentioned in Pūjāv and Rajaratn

[3] See note to 37 223 Who the Grand Thera was is not said probably Daṭhāsiva.

[4] I e who gave themselves to ascetic and meditative practices H Beckh, Buddhismus II, 9 ff., was the first to show the significance of Yoga in Buddhism in its true light

[5] According to 50 67 a building in the Jetavana vihāra Mentioned again 48 65

[6] The translation is not quite certain on account of the brevity of the original W has however, disregarded the gerund *katvā* in his rendering

[7] See note to 37 201

[8] I think what is meant here is the bathing tank now called Nagapokuṇa, situated just under the summit of the Mihintale mountain (see 38 75 note) where hewn in the rock face the heads of a cobra (*nāga*) seem to rise out of the water Not 'Elephant's Pool' as W translates See Mhvs. trsl p 91 note 1

[9] The tank at the foot of the Missaka mountain by which the present fields of the village Mihintale are irrigated

of) the Thera (Mahinda) on its dike and he decreed that when 30
the Grand Thera Mahinda should be brought to the place,
people from the Taraccha[1] clan should carry him. He plac- 31
ed a golden umbrella[2] on the (thūpas of the) three fra-
ternities, seven- eight- and nine-fold[3] and (set) with pre-
cious stones. He presented the Mahāthūpa with a golden 32
umbrella weighing four and twenty bhāras[4] and here and there
(he offered) a superb jewel of great value. Having decorated 33
the temple of the Tooth Relic with brightly gleaming precious
stones he made a golden reliquary (for the relic) and in the
Pāli Hall a canoe of bronze[5]. He built the Mahāmekhala 34
bund and conducted a great canal from the Maṇihīra tank[6].

At that time a Grand Thera called Jotipāla had beaten in 35
controversy the adherents of the Vetulla School[7] on the Is-
land. The Ādipāda called Dāṭhāpabhuti, ashamed (at the 36
defeat), raised his hand to strike him (the thera). At the self-
same moment an ulcer appeared (on his hand). But the King 37
who was pleased with Jotipāla, assigned him a dwelling in
that very vihāra[8]. In his pride Dāṭhāpabhuti went not to

[1] P. *taracchā*. See note to 38. 13. W. is not at all clear about this passage. The Taracchā are already mentioned Mhvs. 19. 2 along with the Kuliṅgā.

[2] See note to 38. 54, as also to 41. 97.

[3] Has reference to the single storeys of the chatta which apparently differed in the three thūpas (Mahāthūpa, Jetavana and Abhayagiri) in the way indicated.

[4] A *bhāra* (= 20 Tulā = 2000 Pala) is according to BR. (Sanskrit Wtb. *s. v.*), equal to about 140 lbs. That would give a total weight of 33 to 34 cwt. According to the Sinhalese weight (1 *pala* = 4 *karṣa* = a little more than 72. 5 gr.) we should get double that quantity. The umbrella was of course of stone and gilded.

[5] See note to 37. 181.

[6] Now Minneri-veva, N. W. of Polonnaruva.

[7] The Mahāvaṃsa regards the Vetulla School as a heretical sect. They were the representatives of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon and are first mentioned Mhvs. 36. 41 in the reign of Vohāraka-Tissa (2nd half of the 3rd c. A. D.). They had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vihāra according to Mhvs. 36. 111. Cf. Mhvs. trsl., p. 259. n. 2.

[8] Presumably in the vihāra where the controversy had taken place. (Abhayagiri ?)

38 him[1] and so died The King conferred the dignity of ma-
hādipāda[2] on his sister's son Aggabodhi and charged him to
39 take the Thera under his protection, which he did After
building the Nilageha cell[3] the King gave it to that same
Thera Thus he wrought many meritorious works and died
in the thirty-fourth year (of his reign)[4].
40 *Hereupon Aggabodhi became king As the former king*
was the elder he was distinguished by the name Khudda[5].
41 Versed in the former customs he protected the Island and he
made Saṃghabhaddā the daughter of his mother's brother
42 mahesī[6] As sword-bearer he appointed a kinsman of the
Mahesī He distributed posts according to worth, without
43 preference[7]. The Veluvana(-vihāra) which the king had built he
made over to the adherents of the Sāgali School[8]. He also built
the Jamburantaragalla(-vihāra) and the Mātikapiṭṭhi(-vihāra)
44 During the reign of this (king) the prince of the Kālinga
country whose mind was disturbed when he saw the death of
45 living beings in war, came hither to our Island with the re-
solve of world renunciation[9]. He underwent the ceremony of
world renunciation under Jotipāla and the King maintained
46 him honourably for a long time He built him a prac-

[1] He was too proud to go to Jotipāla and ask his forgiveness

[2] The title mahādipāda is usually borne by the heir to the throne

[3] What a *pariccheda* was in a monastic establishment is difficult to say I suppose it to have been single cells for the inmates Cf 48 2, 60 77

[4] Pūjāv 34 years Rājāv 30 years

[5] I e the little the younger In the Sinhalese sources he is also called *Kuda Aklo* [6] See note to 37. 211

[7] W s translation of *anālayo* by "as he envied not to give power into the hands of others is certainly not right *Ālaya* means "wish affection What is meant is merely that the king was not influenced by personal wishes but by objective considerations *Cf also* 46 4

[8] See note to 39 41 The Sāgaliyā had their seat in Jetavana, as the Dhammarucikā in Abhayagiri (A M Hocart, Memoirs ASC. I, p 16 ff) For the Veḷuvana vihāra see note to 44 29

[9] It seems that he was driven from his country by Pulakeśin I., the founder of the Chalukya dynasty who conquered the Kaliṅga kingdom According to Jouveau Dubreuil this took place 609 A D See H W Codrington, H C, p 35, 51

tising-house[1] in the Mattapabbata-vihāra. The Kāliṅga prince's minister and his Mahesī betook themselves to the same (Jotipāla) and under him they (likewise) underwent the ceremony of world renunciation. When the Mahesī of the King 47
(Aggabodhi) heard of her splendid renunciation of the world, she supported her honourably and had the Ratana(-vihāra) built (for her). To the minister the King granted the Vetta- 48
vāsa-vihāra in Pācīnakaṇḍarāji[2], but the ascetic handed it over to the community[3]. The royal Thera died; the King (Agga- 49
bodhi) mourned for him and wept for him and after that built a practising-house in the Cūlagalla-vihāra[4] as well as one in the Palaṃnagara-vihāra[5]. Thus in his place and for 50
him[6] the ruler performed many meritorious works.

Once while the Thera Jotipāla was performing his devo- 51
tions in front of the cetiya in the Thūpārāma a piece of (masonry) got loosened and fell in front of him. The troubled 52
Thera called the King and showed it to him. When the King saw it he was horrified and had the work at once taken in hand. He housed the Relic of the Right Collar-bone[7], care- 53
fully guarded, in an inner room of the Lohapāsāda and honoured it day and night. As the repairs in the Thūpārāma 54
were delayed, the devatās[8] dwelling there appeared to the

[1] See notes to 37. 232.

[2] The name occurs in what is probably the right form Pācīnakhaṇḍarāji also in Mhvs. 23. 4. I believe it to be the name of a village near the Citta mountain.

[3] I. e. he refused personal possession and handed over the vihāra to the community of the bhikkhus.

[4] Mentioned also Mhvs. 35. 13. The vihāra was built by Cūlābhaya at the end of the 1st c. A. D. on the bank of the Goṇanadī (Kala-oya), south of Anurādhapura.

[5] In *Palaṃnagaraga* the *-ga* means "found in". It is thus not part of the name, as W. supposes.

[6] This is a *patti*, that is an action whose merits are transferred to another person who has died. The reward for the pious foundations made by Aggabodhi are to fall to the royal thera from Kālinga.

[7] See above note to 37. 207.

[8] *Thūpārāmamhi* belongs to *navakamme* as well as to *devatā*. According to popular belief devatās are everywhere, in every field, every tree, every building, even in the single parts of a house.

55 King in a dream as attendants of the monastery. "If the King
hesitates to rebuild the shrine of the relic we shall take the
relic and go where it pleaseth us", said they At that mo-
56 ment the King awoke and greatly perturbed, he had the work
on the shrine finished in a short time, including the paintings
57 and the like Further (he had) four images and thrones of
stone, a golden umbrella and work in stone and ivory (made)
58 for the shrine His dignitaries and others (of high rank) made
nine hundred reliquaries and renewed[1] the whole work of
59 Devānampiyatissa[2]. When with immense pains he had got
together the offering in fitting manner he with the greatest
60 reverence, brought the relic from the Lohapāsāda hither He
had the relic surrounded by the Grand Thera Jotipāla together
with the community, carried in festive procession[3] in a reli-
61 quary To the relic-shrine he dedicated the island of Lankā
together with his own person[4] and handed over to its guar-
dians the village the proceeds of which had belonged to the
62 Mahesi In Nāgadīpa (he presented) the Uṇṇalomaghara temple
to the Rājāyatanadhātu(-vihāra), as well as an umbrella for
63 the Āmalacetiya[5] He granted to the vihāra there a village
for the provision of rice soup To the Abhaya(giri)-vihāra
64 he granted the village of Angaṇasālaka Giving it his own
name and that of the Mahesī, he erected in the Abhayuttara[6]
65 the Dāṭhāggabodhi house The Queen piously built the
Kapālanāga-vihāra and handed it over provided with the four

[1] In v 57 the v *kārayi* must be supplemented to the accusatives *from v 56 Navam kammam in v 58 d must have the v akāsum* added from 58 a.

[2] He is the builder of the Thūpārāma cetiya according to Mhvs 17 1 ff, 62

[3] P *parihārena* The word has obviously here already the meaning of its Sinhalese equivalent *perahara* 'procession

[4] See above 39 31 for a case of similar homage to the Church

[5] The verb is missing in the sentence We must probably supplement it with an *adā* from the foregoing My interpretation differs greatly from that of W I take Rajāyatanadhātu for the name of a vihāra Nāgadipa means the most northerly part of Ceylon

[6] See note to 37 97

necessaries, to the same monastery. In the Jetavana the King 66
erected a building with a glittering crowning ornament[1] and near the house of the Bodhi Tree he had a well dug. He also 67
built the Gaṅgātaṭa, Valāhassa and Giritaṭa tanks[2]. He enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall and set up a canoe for the gifts of rice[3].
For the bhikkhunīs the Mahesī ordered permanent gifts of rice[4]. 68
Thus after King Aggabodhi had performed meritorious works, he went to Heaven in the tenth year (of his reign)[5].

Thus (both) these Lords of men, who rejoiced in meritorious 69
works, who were blessed with riches, fell into the clutches of death. Then should the wise man when he beholds rightly the course of existence, shunning according to precept, all connection with existence, (his face) turned towards Nirvana, live discerningly, surrendering himself to the renunciation of the world.

Here ends the forty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings[6]", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] There is no reason to change the reading of the MSS. *rājānacumbaṭaṃ* into *rājatacumbaṭaṃ* as do S. and B. There is nothing strange in the archaic participial form in *-āna* in the eclectic style of the Cūlavaṃsa.

[2] Rājāv. and Pūjāv. relate that in all he built 13 tanks. The Gangatala, Giritalā, Hovaṭu, Neraḷu, Māṭombu, Siravalāskäṭiya, Eṇḍerahaḷu, Kaḷunnaru, Mahaudalu, Kängomu, Mādäta and Kalamvävu are named in the Pūjāv. In addition both chronicles ascribe to him the building of the Velunnā-vehera.

[3] P. *bhattanāvaṃ*. Cf. note to 37. 181.

[4] P. *bhattavaṃsaṃ*. The regular recurrence of the gifts is compared with the succession of the generations in a family.

[5] Rājāv. and Pūjāv. likewise give the duration of the reign as ten years.

[6] The MSS. have *Tirājako* "the three kings" and having regard to the signature of the foregoing pariccheda, it would have been more consistent to have retained this reading. As in our signature one king more, in the foregoing one less is given than actually occurs in the pariccheda, we may perhaps assume that the difference is traceable to a copy in which the last king of the series of the 41 st chapter, Mahānāga, is treated not with his predecessors but with his successors, the two Aggabodhis.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE SIX KINGS

1 Hereupon the Sword-bearer Samghatissa[1] became ruler.
With the wish to further religion as well as the kingdom he
2 rejoiced in righteous action Bestowing office according to
merit, he won his subjects for himself But when the general
3 of the younger king (Aggabodhi), Moggallāna, who dwelt in
Rohaṇa, learnt that Saṃghatissa had become king, in order
to begin war he occupied a fortified camp in Mahāgalla[2].
4 When Samghatissa heard this he sent troops to fight him,
5 but the mighty Moggallāna routed them. Thereupon he be-
took himself with elephants and horses to Rattivihāra, collec-
6 ted his troops there and took up a position At news of this
the King returned, gave him battle at Kadalīnivāta[3] and

[1] Pūjav and Rājāv describe him as younger brother (*mal*) of Aggabodhi II But is seems to be more probable that he is the aṃggāha mentioned in 42 42 as a kinsman of Aggabodhi's II mahesī

[2] *Mahāgalla is mentioned in three places According to 58 42—43* (q v) it was situated in Dakkhinadesa The sequence Tilagulla, Mahāgalla, Maṇḍigalla, Anurādhapura, Mahātittha in a successful campaign of Vijayabāhu I allows of our determining the situation It is evidently the present *Magallegama* N W. of Kurunegala halfway on the road to Puttalam not far from Nikaveratiya (Census of Ceylon 1921, II. 282 3 nr 62) So also H W. Codrington in a letter dated 19 X 26 Mahāgallakavāpi is likewise mentioned three times namely 68 34 and 43 among the water works built by Parakkamabāhu I to further cultivation in Dakkhiṇadesa The passage 79 66 is either a repetition of what is related in Chap 68 or it refers to the restoration of the tank

[3] Not Kadallādi Nivāta. *The ādi serves only, as so frequently, for* paraphrase ' beginning with Kadalī' Cf Kadalyādinivāta 48 50, Mahāpānādidīpa 44 122, Sirisaṃghādibodhiko 46. 1

defeated him. Then he sent his troops (after him), but re- 7
turned himself to the town. Moggallāna restored his van-
quished army[1] to its former state and marched to Rahera[2].
The King's Senāpati sent his son against the rebels, he him- 8
self feigned (sickness) as if suffering and distressed like one 9
very sick, he kept his bed. When the King heard of it he
at once sought him out and admonished him: "Be not troubled. 10
Only set the Prince[3] his tasks here (in Anurādhapura) and
protect the city; it is impossible for thee to accompany me 11
to the seat of war as thou art sick". Because all the people
had left[4] the city and the King's food was thereby curtailed,
they placed before the King food that had been prepared in 12
the Mahāpāli Hall. When the King saw that, he was much
perturbed and thinking: (it must be) before he becomes weaker 13
than (he is[5]) now, he went forth in haste to war. With his
son he mounted his elephant at the head of an army in figh-
ting trim and marched with a small force to Pācīnatissapabbata[6]. 14
When both sides[7] were engaged in battle the treacherous 15
Senāpati opened the attack from behind. When the Ruler's

[1] It is unnecessary to change *savāhanaṃ* into *savāhiniṃ*. *Vāhana* (primarily: baggagetrain, camp-followers) is several times used in just this section as "army". Thus vv. 13 and 22.

[2] The Rahera mountain is already mentioned 41. 44 on the occasion of the battles between Dāṭhāpabhuti I. and his brother Moggallāna. The Col. Ed. reads, it is true, *Kareheram upāgami*.

[3] Jeṭṭhatissa is presumably meant by the "Prince". According to v. 28 he had remained in the town, probably as Regent under the Minister's guidance, while his father was in the field.

[4] P. *ubbāsite,* lit. "caused to depart". The people had left the town from fear of the enemy. It does not mean that they were in the field. The loc. *sabbe* is one of the incorrest forms peculiar to the language of the Cūlavaṃsa. Cf. similarly *sabbe· Jambudīpe* 75. 26 and also *Laṅkātale sabbe* 44. 44.

[5] The idea is this: The King feels that he cannot do without the advice and help of his Senāpati in the city while he himself is absent. He wants therefore to hasten the decision in the field so that the sick man does not die before it. *Yāva na* means "until — before"; *mando* stands for the comparative and the ablative *etto* belongs to this.

[6] See note to 41. 14. [7] I. e. Saṃghatissa and Moggallāna.

16 son saw that, he said "I will slay him" But the King re-
strained him "Think not of such a thing, our army is unable
17 to stand this, it is certainly[1] much too weak" The King was
in the centre between the two hostile armies, therefore his
forces had to be divided against the rebel (Moggallāna) and
18 the Senāpati The King's elephant sought the shade of a
madhūka tree[2] whereupon the umbrella fell to the ground
19 because it knocked against a branch The rebel's army saw
that, took possession of it and handed it over to their com-
mander He raised the umbrella, standing on the summit of
20 the mountain Thereupon the King's troops thinking he was
now king, came and surrounded him But King Saṃghatissa
21 was alone He dismounted from the back of his elephant and
fled with his son and a faithful minister[3] to the Merumajjara
forest near by
22 The victorious Moggallāna[4] took the host, the treacherous
23 Senāpati and his ruthless son, came to the capital and was
king as sovereign of the Lankā country Then he thought
24 "As long as the foe is in life there is no good luck" When
he heard that a son of the former king was here (in Anurādha-
pura) he was wroth and at once commanded that his hands
25 and feet be cut off The man charged by the King, went
thither immediately to cut off his hands and feet The boy
26 wept in distress "If my hands which I have for eating cake,
are cut off with what shall I then eat the cakes?" When the

[1] P *hessati*. The future in the sense of a mitigated statement where otherwise the potential is used The *ti* as so frequently, is inserted in the oratio recta Cf note to 37 114 further 48 116 77 99

[2] *Bassia latifolia* Skr *madhūka* BR s v This is the *mī-gaha* of the Sinhalese which Clough defines as Bassia longifolia

[3] The governing verb of *puttam 'maccam ca soha tam* is wanting Hence the writer of MS S 6 recorred the text to *puttam ādāya sohadam* It seems to me probable that *sohadam* was a gloss to distinguish the *amacca* from the faithless Senāpati and that this gloss displaced an *ādiya* in the text The gerund *ādiya* which is found already in Mhvs. 1 74 is found again in v 22

[4] Pūjāv calls him Lāmāni Bō nā Mugalan, Rajāv Mādi Bō Mugalan, Nik s. and Rajaratn Lāmāni Bō nāya

King's servant heard that he wept and wailed, sorely grieved 27
at the King's command. Nevertheless he cut off his left hand
and his left foot, the wretch. Jeṭṭhatissa another son of the 28
King, fled and betook himself unrecognised to Malaya in the
Merukandara[1] district. Meanwhile the King (Saṃghatissa) 29
with his son and his minister had secretly reached Veḷuvana[2].
At the instigation of the bhikkhus there he donned the yellow
robe. He had the intention of betaking himself in the dis- 30
guise of a bhikkhu to Rohaṇa and got as far as Maṇihīra[3].
Here the servants of the King who were there, recognised 31
the three, put fetters on their feet and told Moggallāna. When
the King heard that, he rejoiced exceedingly and gave the 32
command: "Go with all haste, take the three to the secure
and safe Sihagiri[4]. There cut the King's head off and that 33
of his son, but bring the minister to me alive". Thus charged, 34
the people took the three, brought them to Sihagiri and set
about to do what had been commanded them. Then spake 35
the King's son to the people who carried out the deed: "Do
me the boon of cutting my head off first." The King's men 36
did so, then they struck off the head of King (Saṃghatissa).
Behold ye who know well what righteous action is, the action
of fools! So transitory are (worldly) delights, so uncertain 37
and unstable: how could ye setting your hearts on these,
neglect to seek your eternal salvation?

They informed the minister of the King's command, as 38
they had his good at heart[5]. When he heard that he laughed

[1] See note to 41. 19.

[2] See above 42. 43. The Veḷuvana-vihāra must hence be looked for somewhere on a line between Anurādhapura and Maṇihīra.

[3] Now Minneriya-veva, one of the largest and most beautiful tanks in the island, about 10 miles W.N.W. of Polonnaruva.

[4] Sigiri lies about 10 miles W.S.W. from the Minneri lake.

[5] W. refers *hitesino* to *amacassa* "unto the faithful minister". I believe though, that it is a nom. plu. belonging to the subject contained in *āhaṃsu*. From what follows it seems that Moggallāna's henchmen wished to save the minister's life by offering him the prospect of service with the new King.

39 and spake these words "While I was still in life I saw my
master beheaded, shall I alas! serve another master besides
40 him? After ye have slain him here will ye also take from
him his shadow? Alas! ignorant are ye, I trow, and deluded"
41 After he had spoken thus he took hold of his master's feet
and lay thus there The henchmen (of Moggallāna) seeing
42 no means of bringing him away, willy-nilly struck his head
off too Then they took the three (heads) and showed them
to the King He struck at them and rejoiced, being rid of
43 his fear To the treacherous Senāpati he granted the dignity
of Malayarāja and gave his son the office of sword-bearer
44 Moggallana covered the three thūpas with new material
and instituted a great thūpa festival[1] throughout the territory
45 of Lankā With a great offering he celebrated with reverence
the Hair Relic of the Master, likewise the Tooth Relic and the
46 great Bodhi Tree In accordance with ancient custom he held
the entire Vesākha[2] festival and the like By a regulative
47 act[3] he reformed the Order of the Perfected One With a great
festival he instituted a recitation of the (three) Piṭakas and
he honoured the learned priests by giving them specially high
48 revenues To all the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he presented a robe and in all their dwellings he had kaṭhina[4] robes

[1] The covering over of the thūpas with white linen cloths was a token of festive homage Cf 52 67 and 54 37 The word *sabbe* belongs most likely to *Lankātale* (see note to 44 11) and *thūpe mahussavam* is the same as *thūpassa m°* and takes the place of the compound *thūpamahussavam*

[2] The month Vesakha corresponds to April May The birthday of the Buddha was celebrated on the day of the full moon of this month

[3] See note to 39 57

[4] By *kathina* we are to understand a gift of clothing to the community carried out in a specially solemn form at the end of the Pavāraṇā festival (see note to 37 90) It is considered highly meritorious The term is *atthatakathino* (lit outspread raw cotton') *kaṭhinatthāra* in our passage *kathinam attharāpati* The ceremony consists in the uninterrupted making of the garments in the course of a day and a night from raw cotton The cotton is spun by women, the stuff woven, dyed and finally made up into garments Cf Vinaya I 253 ff (= Mahāvagga VII 1 ff)

made. He made images and repaired what was decayed. He 49
made over to the community more than 300 salt-pans. In 50
Kārapiṭṭhi he built the Moggallāna-vihāra, further the Piṭṭhigāma-vihāra and Vaṭagāma together with a village (assigned to it). He also built a cetiya temple in the Rakkha-vihāra[1] 51
and he granted villages to many vihāras for their maintenance.
Thus the Monarch performed countless meritorious works in 52
remembreance of the fleeting nature of the fortunes of the preceding king.

Now it happened that for some offence or other he became 53
displeased with the Malayarāja[2]. He remembered his shameful conduct towards the former king. He got him into his 54
power by craft and had his hands and feet cut off. When the Sword-bearer[3] heard that he betook himself with his son
to Rohaṇa. Dwelling there he soon brought the land into 55
his power. He sought out Jeṭṭhatissa who kept himself hidden
in Malaya. In league with him he conquered in a short time 56
the province of Janapada. He then betook himself to the Dohaḷapabbata and took up his position in an armed camp[4].
When the King heard all that he (likewise) took up his 57
position near him with an army and a train ready for battle. Now at that time many of the King's people suf- 58
fered from fever and died. When the Sword-bearer heard
that he took up the fight with vehemence. The King's army 59
was too weak, it was scattered and fled. The King fled be-

[1] I read *Rakkhavihārake* as against *-kaṃ* of the MSS.

[2] See 44. 43. [3] The Malayarāja's son (44. 43).

[4] I believe that we must read *raṭṭhaṃ Janapadaṃ* and that with this is meant the country often mentioned later (66. 110 etc.), situated in northern Malaya towards Dakkhiṇadesa. The verb *ghātento* is curious. The Dohaḷa mountain is most likely to be sought in the district of Janapada. The form of the name agrees in all MSS. The alteration to *Doḷhapabbata* in the Col. Ed. is arbitrary. It cannot be the mountain Dolagalvela. That lies on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga and occurs in the Mahāvaṃsa (10. 44) under the name *Doḷapabbata*. The scenes described in our verses took place without doubt somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Dambul. In v. 60 Sigiri (*Sīhapabbata*) is also mentioned in connection with the battle.

60 hind it When the Sword-bearer met him alone near Sihagiri
61 he slew the Great King together with his attendants In order
to kill Jeṭṭhatissa also whom he had left behind, he sent him
62 a message "Come and be King, come" Jeṭṭhatissa saw through
the plan, turned and fled to Malaya (for he said to himself)
"Would he really hand over to me the royal dignity gained
with so much trouble?"

63 When after six years[1] he had slain the Prince Moggallāna
64 surnamed Dalla[2], the Sword-bearer with army and train entered
splendid Anurādhapura, became king and rolled the wheel of
65 dominion over the earth's circle He was called Silā-
meghavaṇṇa[3], reverenced the Order and the Bodhi Tree,
sacrificed to the three thūpas and enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall
66 During a bad famine he dispensed milk rice made with butter
and syrup to the community and (presented it) also with filters
67 Through sheer generosity he won the hearts of the poor,
of travellers and beggars To boys the bountiful (Prince) gave
68 money to buy cakes In the Abhayagiri-vihāra he honoured
the stone image of the Buddha by an offering He had its
ruined temple (restored and) brightly decorated with divers
69 precious stones He dedicated (unto it) the Kolavāpi tank
to protect[4] the Victor and he continually instituted sacrificial
festivals at the greatest cost

70 While the Monarch thus lived as a vessel[5] for meritorious
action, a general named Sirināga, mother's brother of Jeṭṭha-
71 tissa, had betaken himself to the opposite shore[6]. He returned

[1] The same number in Pūjāv and Rājāv

[2] The Sinhalese chronicles give this Surname to Moggallāna II See note to 41 63

[3] The Sinhalese chronicles do not mention the name of this king They merely call him *asiggāhaka*

[4] That is as wages for the guarding of the image and its temple he allotted the proceeds of the tank The words *ārakkhatthaṃ jinassa* belong to *datvāna*, not to the following

[5] The word *bhājana* is used in Skr with the same figurative sense See BR. s v, nr 4

[6] I e to the mainland of India

with many Damiḷas and began to take possession of (the nor-
thern province) Uttaradesa. At the tidings of this, the King 72
advanced, offered battle at the village of Rājamittaka, beat
the Damiḷas who had accompanied him, captured those who 73
remained over from the slaughter, subjected them to all kinds
of humiliation and distributed them here and there as slaves
to the vihāras.

When the Monarch had thus gained the victory, he return- 74
ed to the city and while he, after he had cleared the whole
kingdom and was menaced from no side, dwelt there, a bhikkhu 75
called Bodhi who had seen many undisciplined bhikkhus in
the Abhayuttara-vihāra, though reckoned by the ceremony of
world renunciation, he was still young, came to the King and 76
begged him to proclaim a regulative act[1]. The King had the
regulative act carried out by him himself in the vihāra. Then 77
all the undisciplined bhikkhus who had been expelled from
the Order, took counsel together, murdered Bodhi secretly
and annulled the act. When the King heard that, he was 78
wroth, seized them all together and made them, their hands
cut off and in fetters, guardians of the bathing tanks; another 79
hundred bhikkhus there he expelled to Jambudīpa. In remem-
brance of Bodhi's efforts he thus cleansed the Order. When 80
then he invited the bhikkhus of the Thera School with the
others[2] to celebrate together the Uposatha festival, he was
refused. He flew into a rage and offending all respect, he 81
abused and reviled them with harsh words. Then he betook
himself without demanding pardon of the bhikkhus, to
Dakkhiṇadesa. There he was attacked by a fell disease and 82
died suddenly. Thus after nine years[3] he left the earth.

[1] See note to 39. 57.

[2] The other bhikkhus meant here are those of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. As the King has expelled the unworthy members of the Order, he thinks the time come for a common celebration with the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra, which they however reject.

[3] The same length of reign is assigned to Asiggāhaka in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

83 His son the young prince, Aggabodhi by name, then
84 became king, known by the name of *Sirisamghabodhi*[1] He
invested his youngest brother Māna with the dignity of uparāja
and granted him (the province of) Dakkhiṇadesa with fitting
85 army and train The king who did no discredit to the conduct of former kings, protected the kingdom in justice and
86 deeply reverenced the Order Jeṭṭhatissa who heard all this
in Malaya, betook himself to the Ariṭṭha mountain[2] and brought
87 the population over to his side After he had brought the
southern and eastern districts into his power and made them
his friends[3], he began gradually to march with strong forces
88 on the capital He sent his minister Dāṭhāsiva to occupy the
territory in the west[4] and took up a position himself in the
89 village Sirīpiṭṭhi When the King heard all that he sent the
Uparāja[5] (Māna) with a force into the western territory He
90 went up and put Dāthāsiva to flight The King thought one
can kill the fellow like a young bird in the nest[6] and took

[1] For the first time Sirisamghabodhi occurs as royal *biruda* Wickremasinghe has made the happy observation that in the sequel this epithet is used alternately with that of Silāmeghavaṇṇa so that when a king bears the *birudi* Sirisamghabodhi his successor calls himself Silameghavaṇṇa and conversely EZ. II p 9 As name Sirisamghabodhi is first met with Mhvs 36 73 ff (300 A D) The title was obviously chosen in honour of this pious king of the Lambakaṇṇa clan The Sinhalese chronicles only know King Aggabodhi III under the name Sirisangabo

[2] Now *Ritigala* the isolated massif halfway between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva

[3] P *susamānase* not -*so* as in the Col Ed Jeṭṭhatissa not only brings the districts into his power but also wins over the inhabitants as adherents (*samānasa* being like minded)

[4] It seems to me that *pacchimam disam* in v 88 as also *pacchimam desam* in v 89 are not to be taken as proper names of a district, as little as *pubbadakkhine* in v 87 but merely as a general geographical designation

[5] See v 84

[6] *Dārakam* is probably to be taken in the oratio recta as S. and B. have it in their Sinhalese translation The word is used contemptuously of the inexperienced *amacca* of prince Jeṭṭhatissa

prisoner the prince's minister (Dāṭhāsiva) who had marched to
Māyetti. Then he thought: I will catch Jeṭṭhatissa in the 91
same way, and with a few troops the fearless one marched
recklessly against him. But Jeṭṭhatissa on the news thereof, 92
fell with a skilled army and train on the King's army like
a sea that has burst its bounds. The army of the King was 93
scattered; the King mounted his elephant and fled at once
alone and in disguise. In the sixth month after his accession 94
he hastily took ship and betook himself to Jambudīpa, deserting wealth, country and kinsfolk.

Jeṭṭhatissa now became king in the city; he fulfilled 95
all duties as was formerly customary and protected the Order.
Mahādāragiri he granted to the Abhayuttara-vihāra, to the 96
Mahāvihāra he made over the Bodhi Tree called Mahāmetta.
To the Jetavana the King granted Goṇḍigāma. To the prac- 97
tising-house in the Mahānāga(-vihāra)[1] he assigned the villages
Mātulaṅgaṇa and Odumbaraṅgaṇa and to the Kassapagiri[2] 98
(-vihāra) (the village of) Ambilāpika for the (supply of) food.
The village of Kakkhalaviṭṭhi he gave to the Veḷuvaṇa(-vi- 99
hāra[3]) and to the Gaṅgāmāti-vihāra the village of Keheta; to 100
the (vihāra) called Antarāgaṅga he gave the village of Cullamātika and to the (vihāra) Mayettikassapāvāsa (the village of)
Sahannanagara. To the Kālavāpi-vihāra he assigned the vil- 101
lage called Lada. This and other (vihāras) he provided
abundantly with maintenance villages. What was ruinous he 102
restored (at a cost of) three hundred thousand (kahāpaṇas);
to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island he presented the three
garments.

The King (Aggabodhi) who had betaken himself to Jam- 103
budīpa had brothers in blood. These hidden here and there,
sought to make the land rebellious. When Jeṭṭhatissa heard 104
this, he betook himself to Kālavāpi, made war on them and

[1] For this vihāra see 42. 24. For *padhānaghara* cf. 37. 232.

[2] Inscriptional mention is made of this monastery under the name Kasubgiri on a tablet of Mahinda IV. See Wickremasinghe EZ I [illegible] It is mentioned again in Cūlavs. 48. 24 under Kassapa III.

[3] See note to 44. 29.

105 took up a position with his army on the spot. The King
(Aggabodhi) who had gone to the other coast and there hired
Damila troops, came to Kālavāpi and began the combat Jeṭṭha-
tissa ready for war with a well equiped force, first letting his mi-
106 nister Dāṭhāsiva escape[1] to Jambudīpa, *mounted his armoured*
107 elephant, but seeing his troops fall back in the battle, he spake
108 thus to the high dignitary who rode with him on the elephant:
"Take my message to the Mahesī, then mayest thou do what thou
109 wilt: forsake O great Queen, the world, recite the sacred texts,
learn the Abhidhamma[2] and transfer the merit to the King[3]."
110 After he had given this order, he hewed down the Damiḷas
as many of them as met him in the course of the battle But
111 when his strength was failing[4] he saw a Damiḷa called Veluppa
coming to fight with him. Then as he was wont to keep a
112 knife in the betel-nut bag in his hand, he quickly drew his
dagger out of that and cut his throat. Then leaning upon the
113 elephant, he stuck the knife back in the sheath. The great
army cried aloud. The high dignitary set off, thinking ever
114 and only of how the King had cut his throat, and gave the
Queen the message. Together with her he underwent in the
Order the ceremony of world renunciation and after he had
115 mastered the Abhidhamma together with the commentary, he

[1] P. *palāpetvā* The translation "he sent" does not give the full sense of the original. According to v 90, Dāṭhāsiva had become the prisoner of Aggabodhi But as it is expressly stated, v 93, that Aggabodhi escaped alone (*eko*) in disguise to Jambudīpa, Dāṭhāsiva can no longer be in his power It is thus not a case of freeing Dāṭhāsiva from captivity, the latter must be again in Jeṭṭhatissa's service The idea is rather the following Jeṭṭhatissa sends Dāṭhāsiva to Southern India, to *cut off Aggabodhi's rearward communications, thereby unconsciously* letting his minister escape the disaster overtaking himself

[2] The Abhidhamma is the third part of the Buddhist Canon, in which its philosophical content is systematically summarized — the third *piṭaka* See 37. 221.

[3] P *pattim dehi rājino* For the term *patti* see note to 42 50.

[4] P *āyumhi khayam āgate* perhaps "when his lifetime came to an end" according to his kamma.

came down (once) from the teacher's chair[1] and seated himself
on the ground. At the Queen's request: come and show me
how the King died, he seated himself in front of her, cut his 116
throat, stuck the knife (in the sheath) and spake: "Thus died
his Majesty". When she saw that her heart broke through 117
heavy sorrow and she died. Thus after five months King
Jeṭṭhatissa went to Heaven[2].

After Aggabodhi had thus victoriously subdued the foe 118
in battle, he restored his royal dominion and resided in the
capital. To the practising-house[3] called Mahallarāja which had 119
been erected[4] by himself in company with the Uparāja (Māna),
he granted the two villages of Haṅkāra and Sāmugāma as 120
well as the royal share in (the revenues) of Kehella, and the
whole of the (necessary) staff. To the Jetavana(-vihāra) he 121
gave (the village) Mahāmaṇikagāma and he honoured the
Mayettikassapāvāsa(-vihāra) by the grant of Sālaggāma. To 122
the Cetiya mountain[5] he granted Ambillapadara and in Pu-
latthinagara he built the Mahāpānadīpa (-vihāra)[6].

The court officials of the King slew the Yuvarāja Māna 123
who had committed an offence in the women's apartments,

[1] *Dhammāsana* is a raised seat in the centre of the assembly-hall of the bhikkhus on which the priest, who recites the sacred text, takes his place, his face turned towards the east. It differs from the *therāsana* on which the head of the Chapter has his seat, facing north. See Mhvs. 3. 21—22, 32, 35.

[2] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give Lāmāni-Kaṭusara-Deṭatis — so the King is called in these chronicles — likewise a reign of five months.

[3] See 37. 232; 39. 58.

[4] In the Col. Ed the text of the MSS. has been arbitrarily altered. There is nothing surprising in the use of the loc. *kārite* instead of the genitive *kāritassa* used with *padhānagharakassa*. Cf. Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. XVIII.

[5] *Cetiyagiri* = *Cetiyapabbata* here of the monastery erected on the Mihintale mountain. See notes to 38 75 and 42. 28.

[6] For the form of the name see note to 44. 6. The name of the later capital of the kingdom, Pulatthinagara (now Polonnaruva) is here mentioned for the first time in the Cūlavaṃsa. It does not occur at all in the older Mahāvaṃsa.

124 although they had promised him absolute safety[1] Therefore
the King wishful of securing the succession (for his family)
invested his youngest brother Kassapa by name with the
125 dignity of Uparāja Now when Daṭhāsiva heard of the death
of Māna he came in haste with Damila troops to the village
126 called Tintiṇi[2] At the tidings of his advance Aggabodhi
marched out with his army, gave battle and was forced in
127 the twelfth year (of his reign) to flee to Jambudipa At his
flight he left everything behind He took with him only the
pearl chain of one string[3] by which to make himself known,
128 and departed quite alone Even without the chain of one
string of pearls Dāṭhāsiva became king, according to custom,
known over the circle of the earth under the name of
129 Dāṭhopatissa The other (Aggabodhi) seized the op-
portunity and got hold of the government again by fighting
130 So each drove out the other in turn But the whole people
suffering under the wars of these two kings, fell into
131 great misery and lost money and field produce Dāṭhopatissa
exhausted the whole property of former kings and seized all
objects of value in the three fraternities[4] and in the relic
132 temples He broke in pieces the golden images and took the
gold for himself and plundered all the golden wreaths and
133 other offerings In the Thūpārāma likewise he took away
the golden crowning ornament on the temple and smashed
the umbrella on the cetiya which was studded with costly
134 precious stones The canoes in the Mahāpāli Hall he left to

[1] I now believe that the conjecture *aparajjhitvā* of S and B instead of *aparujjhitvā* must be accepted with regard to 51 8 The construction of the sentence is certainly irregular The gerund *aparajjhitvā* is used like a Loc absol The court officials killed the Yuvarāja because an offence in the women's apartments had been committed by him

[2] As the yield from taxation of this village according to 41 96 was assigned to the Mahāvihāra, it cannot be situated very far from Anurādhapura Thus Dāṭhāsiva advances from the coast direct on the capital

[3] Obviously a peculiarly valuable part of the regalia, of the *rāja-ṭṭhāna* Cf Skr *ekāvalī* as well as 46 17

[4] See note to 41 97

the Damiḷas; (and) they burned down the royal palace together with the Relic Temple[1]. Later he repented and to acknow- 135
ledge his wrong he founded the Sākavatthu-vihāra with the (necessary) revenues. His sister's son also, the Mahādipāda, 136
known among the people by the name Ratanadāṭha, supported the King with his income. (Once) when Aggabodhi had by 137
military superiority got hold of the kingdom, the Yuvarāja, Kassapa[2], the deluded one, to provide for his army led by 138
evil-natured villains, broke open by force the cetiya of the Thūpārāma and plundered the valuable treasures given by 139
Devānaṃpiyatissa, the younger Aggabodhi[3] and (other) former kings. He also broke open the cetiya of the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra 140
and seized the valuable treasures and he had yet other (cetiyas) broken open. When he acted thus led away by evil-natured 141
people, the King was powerless to prevent him — alas! evil-doers will not be hindered (in their action) — and as 142
he could not hinder him he by the organisation of a festival, restored the cetiya of the Thūpārāma shattered by him, at the cost of a thousand (kahāpaṇas).

Now the Lord of men Aggabodhi was defeated by Dāṭhopa- 143
tissa and betook himself to Rohaṇa to restore his army and train. While he sojourned there he fell ill and died in the 144
sixteenth year[4] (of his reign). Thereupon his youngest brother the Yuvarāja Kassapa, sent King Dāṭhopatissa flying to 145
Jambudīpa and united the country under one dominion; but the crown he did not wear[5]. Through intercourse with pious 146
people he repented and with the thought: I will make an end

[1] See note to 37. 95.

[2] Younger brother of Aggabodhi III.

[3] By Aggabodhi II. Cf. with this, 42. 51 ff.

[4] The calculation evidently starts from the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi III. Thus the 15-16 years include the first period of Aggabodhi (6 months), the interregnum of Jeṭṭhatissa II, as well as the reign of Dāṭhopatissa who, according to v. 126, seized the sovereignty in the twelfth year of Aggabodhi. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. simply say that Jeṭṭhatissa reigned 5 months, Dāṭhopatissa (Lämäni Dalupatis) 12 years and Aggabodhi (Sirisaṅgabō) 16 years.

[5] Evidently Dāṭhopatissa had secured the Regalia.

147 of my evil doings[1], he laid out flower gardens, fruit gardens
and tanks and he honoured the three great cetiyas by large
148 offerings. To the Thūpārāma also he brought an offering
and granted it a village and he had the sacred texts recited
149 by all the foreign bhikkhus[2]. In the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra) he
erected a very massive pāsāda and let the Grand Thera live
150 there who had his seat in Nāgasālā. While he sojourned there,
he provided him with the four necessaries and had the
151 Abhidhamma with the commentary recited by him. Then after
he had had the Nāgasalā dwelling put in order[3] he made it
over to him also, and granted him the village of Mahāniṭṭhila
for the supply of the (four) necessaries.
152 Now Dāṭhopatissa came hither from Jambudīpa with a
153 great force, but when he offered battle to Kassapa he was
defeated by the latter who had a well equipped army, and
was slain. Twelve years had passed since he became king[4].
154 A sister's son of Dāṭhopatissa named Hatthadāṭha fled full of
fear from the great battle to Jambudīpa[5].
155 Thus in truth all joys are fleeting, hard to attain is their
delight and lasts but a moment. Therefore he who seeks his
salvation will give up his joy in these and will turn to the truth.

Here ends the forty-fourth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Lit. I will bring about the destruction of my evil kamma.

[2] The *āgamiyabhikkhavo* are the opposite of the *bhikkhavo dīpavāsino* *the bhikkhus settled in the island*. *Those are bhikkhus who come from* outside on a pilgrimage to Ceylon for instance. When W. translates "holy monks who lived not among the habitations of men" he was probably thinking of *araññakā bhikkhavo*.

[3] We must take *katvā* in the sense of "to restore", in which the verb *kar* is often used. It would also be possible to translate *Nāgasālikam āvāsam katvā* by "after he had made a habitable dwelling out of N." In any case the meaning is that the former dwelling of the Mahathera Nāgasala had become dilapidated and that until its restoration the king assigned him as dwelling the newly built pāsāda in the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra.

[4] If we compare this with the calculation in the note to 44. 144 we find that Dāṭhopatissa's death falls in the eighth year of Kassapa's reign.

[5] See for this passage my edition of the Cūlavaṃsa Introd. p. XIX.

CHAPTER XLV

THE FOUR KINGS

Hereupon Kassapa, the victor in the fight, whose aspiration 1
was fulfilled, gave a most excellent repast in the Mahāpāli
Hall to the community. He honoured the ascetic Mahā- 2
dhammakathin who lived in the Nāgasālā by a great offering
and induced him to recite the true doctrine. In honour of 3
the Thera who was a native of Kaṭandhakāra, who lived in
the building erected by his brother, he had the sacred text
written down with a short summary[1]. What was delapidated 4
he restored and had new works undertaken on the cetiyas and
provided sundry revenues for the community in several places.
He had three diadem jewels[2] wrought which glittered with 5
different precious stones, and he gladdened a hundred Paṇḍu-
palāsas[3] by an offering of garments.

Kassapa had many sons, the eldest of them was Mānaka. 6
They were not yet in riper years, children without much sense.

[1] *Kaṭandhakāravāsin* probably refers to the home of the thera whose name is not mentioned, just as to-day when a bhikkhu enters the Order the name of his native place is prefixed to his adopted one. His abode was evidently the *padhānaghara* called Mahallarāja built according to 44. 119 by Kassapa's brother Aggabodhi III. in company with the Yuvarāja Māna. With "summary" (*saṃgaha*) of the sacred text one should compare titles like Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha, Dhammasaṃgaha, Saddhammasaṃgaha, Sārasaṃgaha.

[2] Evidently as crowning ornaments for the three great cetiyas — Mahāthūpa, Jetavana- and Abhayagiri-Thūpa. Does the epithet *nānāmaṇisamujjotaṃ* indicate that each cetiya had its own particular colour?

[3] W. (p. 32, note); "A *paṇḍupalāsa* is a lay candidate for holy orders living in the vihāra until he could get his robes and alms-bowl made."

7 Now once when he was seized by a bad illness, he thought:
8 *my sons are all still children, incapable of reigning,* and he
sent for his very clever sister's son (Māna) who lived in the
province of Rohaṇa and transferred to him the whole govern-
9 ment, together with the care of his sons. After he had
honoured the cetiyas with perfumes, flowers and other offerings
he made his peace with the bhikkhu community by supplying
10 them with the four necessaries. Thus the Lord of men practis-
ed justice towards friends, officials and subjects and went
after nine years[1] according to his doing.
11 Māna having piously fulfilled the prescribed duties towards
his uncle, won over the people and had the Damiḷas[2] expelled.
12 But the Damiḷas banded themselves together with the resolve:
we will drive him out, and just while he was away they seized
13 the town. To Hatthadāṭha who was in Jambudīpa, they sent
the message: "It is time for thee to come and take over the
14 government." Māna also sent a message in haste to his father
to Rohaṇa. When his father heard it he came hither from
15 Rohaṇa without delay. The two took counsel together and
made a mock treaty with the Damiḷas. Thereupon they were
16 all in accord. Māna now crowned his father (Dappula[3])
king. He when he was consecrated, presented the (three)
17 fraternities with three thousand (kahāpaṇas). Having thus
won over the Order and the kingdom, for himself, he sent all
provisions found in the palace to Rohaṇa to secure them from
18 the enemy. When Hatthadāṭha heard the news of the Damiḷas
19 he came immediately to this Island with a Damiḷa force. All
the despised Damiḷas who dwelt here, arose and joined him
20 on the way as he approached. And Māna thought when he
heard all that: it is no time to fight now, and sent his father,

[1] The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. where the king has the name Pāsuḷu-Kasubu. Likewise in Rājaratn. and Nik.-s.

[2] The mercenaries whom Dāṭhopatissa had brought with him from Southern India and who according to 44. 134 f. had become an undisciplined rabble.

[3] The King's name is first mentioned in v. 30. The Sinhalese chronicles agree in calling the successor of Pāsuḷu Kasubu Dappula.

the King, with the valuable property to Rohaṇa. He betook 21
himself to the Eastern Province and bringing the people round
to his side, took up his abode there. But Hatthadāṭha who
had won over the party of the Damiḷas for himself, occupied
the royal city and publicly took the name of Dāṭhopatissa. 22
After his mother's brother the people called him by this name.
Having fetched his father's brother's son, Aggabodhi by name, 23
he placed him in the position of Yuvarāja and granted him
the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. Upon his supporters he bestow- 24
ed honourable office according to merit and towards the Order
and the people he fulfilled every duty. In the Mahāpāli Hall 25
he had besides clothing, rice with sour milk, milk and milk
rice distributed and keeping the Uposatha day, he hearkened
to the sermon. As he made all offerings and had sermons 26
preached, he by these and other merits made himself happy.
To the Kassapa-vihāra[1] he granted the village of Senāmagāma 27
and Mahāgalla[2] he gave to the practising-house. To the Mora- 28
pariveṇa[3] he granted (the village of) Kasagāma and the cetiya
of the Thūpārāma he honoured by the grant of Puṇṇeli. In 29
the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) he built the Kappūra-pariveṇa[4] and
he built the vihāra called Tiputthulla and added it to the
same (vihāra). As he was about to do this, the bhikkhus of 30
the Thera School wanted to prevent him, because the vihāra
was situated within their boundary[5]. But he treated them
without consideration and carried the thing through by force.

[1] What is meant is probably the Kassapagiri-vihāra mentioned 44. 98 (see the note) and again 48. 24.

[2] Cf. note to 44. 3. The "practising-house" is probably the padhānaghara Mahallarāja mentioned 44. 119 and which is probably meant in 45. 3.

[3] See note to 37. 172.

[4] This pariveṇa is mentioned again twice. Aggabodhi IV. built a *pāsāda* there according to 46. 21 and Sena I. according to 50. 77 a *pariccheda* (s. note to 42. 39).

[5] The passage is surprising. As the Abhayuttara (Abhayagiri) is without doubt the northern thūpa it is difficult to understand how a boundary dispute can arise between it and the Mahāvihāra, the seat of the Thera Bhikkhus.

31 Then the bhikkhus of the Thera School were bitter against
the King, saw in him an unbeliever and applied to him the
32 turning down of the alms-bowl[1] For the wise Master hath
33 said "If an unbelieving layman thinks to lessen the income
of the bhikkhus or taunts them, the *turning down* of the
alms-bowl is to be applied" Hence they carried out this
34 action against him — the laity thought otherwise — and they
made the agreement that when a bhikkhu goes on the mendicant's round bearing the alms-bowl upright, he shall turn it
35 down at the gate of his house Now at that time the King
was smitten with a fell disease and died in the ninth year
(of his reign[2]) since the end of his lifetime had come
36 King Dappula had meanwhile betaken himself to his Rohaṇa
and took up his abode there, heaping up a store of meri-
37 torious works Now we will relate the history of his house
in due order, because if it is related now it will cause no
disturbance[3]
38 There was once a man of the lineage of Okkāka[4], known
by the name of Mahātissa, rich in merit, a mine of heaped-up
39 virtues He had a wife known by the name of Saṃghasivā
gifted with wealth and virtue, the daughter of the ruler of

[1] The meaning of *pattanikkujjana* is clear from this passage If the bhikkhus wish a layman to be regarded as expelled from the society they make this known by refusing to take alms from him turning down the bowl as it were V 33 d is a parenthesis Though the laymen did not approve it the bhikkhus carried out the action

[2] Pūjāv and Rājāv say also that Lämäṇi Daḷupatissa reigned 9 years They make him the successor of Dāpulu Nik s mentions two successors of Dapulu Lämäṇi Daḷupatissa and Pāsulu Daḷupatissa

[3] To judge by the form of the introduction to the following passage appearing so disconnectedly in the context, it seems to me beyond a doubt that the author has here made use of another source apparently a chronicle of Rohaṇa and its dynasty It must be the same source which is employed in 57 3 ff., where just as abruptly as here a section from the history of Rohaṇa is inserted Cf also note to 47 1

[4] A mythical king (Skr Ikṣvāku Hopkins Epic Mythology, p 201), through whom (Mhvs 2, 1 ff) the Sakya family from which the Buddha sprang is derived from Mahāsammata. See also Rockhill, the Life of the Buddha, p 9 ff

Rohaṇa. She had three sons: the first was called Aggabodhi, 40
the second Dappula, the third Maṇiakkhika. She also had 41
a daughter who came to the court of the King. The eldest
son was the independent ruler[1] of the province called Rohaṇa.
Rich as he was, he had the Mahāpāli Hall built in Mahāgāma[2] 42
and there also the pariveṇa called Dāṭhaggabodhi. In Kāṇa- 43
gāma[3] (he built) hospitals for the blind and the sick and a
large image house in the Paṭimā-vihāra. There the wise (prince) 44
set up a stone image of the Buddha which he had made and
which received the name of "the great", produced as by a
miracle. Further he built the Sālavāṇa-vihāra which bore his 45
name and the Pariveṇa-vihāra as well as that of Kājara-
gāma[4]. He erected new buildings in the Dhammasāla-vihāra 46
and the discerning (prince) himself cleaned out the privies
therein. Once having enjoyed the food left over by the 47
bhikkhu community he (being) pleased, granted the village
of Maṇḍagāma[5] to the community. When he after performing 48
these and other meritorious works, had gone to Heaven, his
next brother Dappula by name, became ruler (in the land).
He carried on the government after subduing his enemies, 49
instituted a great almsgiving, (and) made Rohaṇa secure. His 50
subjects were contented with him and said: he is our great
lord and since then the people called him "Great Lord".

[1] This passage shows that Rohaṇa about 600 A. D. was not yet incorporated with the kingdom with the capital Anurādhapura, but that it held or at any rate claimed an independent position beside it.

[2] The name is contained in that of the present Magama (Census of Ceylon, 1921, II, 194, on the left bank of the Kirinda-oya not far from its mouth in the Hambantoṭa district) whose cultivated land is watered by the Magam-Ela diverted from the Yoda-veva in Tissamahārāma. Mahāgāma is first mentioned Mhvs. 22. 8 as the residence of Devānampiyatissa's younger brother, Mahānāga.

[3] The name means "village of the blind".

[4] Now *Kataragam* north of Tissamahārāma, on the Menikganga, on the old road from Mahāgāma to Guttasālā (now Buttala). It is known by a much visited shrine of Skanda. According to the Census of Ceylon (II. 464) the village had 103 inhabitants in 1921.

[5] A Madugama in the Mahavedirata Korale of the Badulla District (N. E. of Buttala) is mentioned in the Census of Ceylon II. 460.

51 When the Ruler of men Silādāṭha[1] heard of that he gave
him his daughter (to wife) and delighted at his many good
52 qualities, he granted him the office of Yuvarāja, indicating by
that that he was fitted for the royal dignity. Mānavamma and
53 other men of high repute were his sons. When he was with the
Mahāthera who dwelt in the Pāsāṇadīpa (-vihāra) and had
heard the sermon of the sacred texts, he experienced believing
54 trust in him and to honour him he built the Rohaṇa-vihāra[2]
and gave it to him. But the Thera made it over for the use
55 of the community in the four quarters of the earth. Dappula
built the Ambamālā-vihāra and many other vihāras; he also
56 erected the Khadirāli-vihāra and offered to the god[3]. The
discerning (prince) repaired the Anurārāma-pāsāda, the badly
decayed Muttolamba(-pāsāda)[4], the Sirivaḍḍha-pāsāda and a
57 further one (called) Takkambila, and housed thirty-two bhikkhus
therein whom he gladdened by the gift of the four necessaries.
58 The village of Kevaṭṭagambhīra he granted to the Nāga-
vihāra[5], to the Rāja-vihāra he assigned the village of Gonna-
59 gāma In the same way he gave to the Tissa-vihāra (the

[1] The name as name of a king does not occur in this form in the Cūlavaṃsa — another proof of the separate character of the Rohaṇa Chronicle King Silāmeghavaṇṇa is meant, for in 45 8, 11 Māna, the son of Dappula, is described as sister's son (*bhāgineyyo*) of Kassapa II, the son of Silāmeghavaṇṇa Thus Dappula was married to the sister of Kassapa II, a daughter of Silāmeghavaṇṇa

[2] The Col Ed. has *vihāram Rohane* and W. accordingly translates "a vihāra in Rohaṇa' The MSS reading meanwhile, is *vihāram Rohanam* and it is quite correct, for in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also the building of the Ruhunuvehera is ascribed to Dāpulu Cf Cūlavs ed, Introd p XIX

[3] Presumably there was at this spot a local Hindu cult, probably of Skanda, the God of Kājaragāma, a kind of patron saint of Rohaṇa, and the King did not neglect to reverence the deity.

[4] I take *Muttolambam* for the name of a pāsāda At any rate W.'s translation "ornamented it with festoons of pearls" is impossible to reconcile with the text. The finite verb would be wanting.

[5] One of the oldest vihāras in Rohaṇa, built by the founder of the dynasty, Mahānāga, the brother of Devānampiyatissa. Mhvs 22. 9

village of) Kattikapabbata and to the Cittalapabbata(-vihāra)[1]
the village of Gonnaviṭṭhi. Having granted to the Ariyākari 60
(-vihāra) the village of Mālavatthu, he built in that place a
superb image house. For the (image of) the Victor (Buddha) 61
there he had a valuable tuft of hair (between the brows) made
and a bandolier[2] of gold and brought it every kind of offering.
Decayed cetiyas he adorned with a new coating of stucco and 62
further he had a statue fifteen cubits[3] high made of the saviour Metteyya[4]. These and other meritorious works without 63
number the Prince performed himself and had them also performed in pious fashion by his retinue. Amongst the people 64
surrounding him were many men of meritorious action; numerous vihāras furnished with (all) necessaries were built by them.

Once when Dappula was on the march in a pathless wil- 65
derness, he after finding quarters for his army, pitched his
camp at night. As he lay there, well bathed and oiled and 66
well fed, outstretched on a splendid couch and in a comfortable tent, he tried to sleep. Nevertheless he found no sleep 67
and although with the thought, what then could be the cause,
he pondered over all that he had experienced during the day,
he found no cause in himself[5]. Thus he thought it must lie 68
outside (of his person) and entrusted people with the task of
seeking it. He spake thus: "Without doubt worthy friends[6] 69
of mine have tarried during the night at the foot of a tree

[1] The Tissa-vihāra, now the Tissamahārāma near Hambantoṭa, and the Cittalapabbata-vihāra were founded by Kākavaṇṇatissa (Mhvs. 22. 23). The ruins of the latter, now called Situlpav-vehera (Nik.-s. 15. 17) lie fifteen miles N. E. of Tissamahārāma not far from Katagamuva. See Jayavardana, Ceylon National Review II, p. 23. For an inscription in the Situlpav-vehera see E. Müller, Anc. Inscr. Ceylon, Nr. 16, p. 29, 74, 110; Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 60, 67.

[2] For the *uṇṇaloma* and the *hemapaṭṭa* (or *hemavaḍḍha*) on the Buddha images s. note to 38. 64.

[3] About 22½ ft. (= 6.86 m). See note to 37. 172.

[4] Note to 37. 242.

[5] The word *anto* which refers to the person of the King, stands in opposition to *bahi*.

[6] The word *ayyakā* refers to bhikkhus.

70 and have become wet Bring them hither!" Numbers of
people with torches in their hands set forth to the search
and found[1] bhikkhus who came from Mahāgāma, under a tree
71 They returned and told the tidings to the King He hastened
thither, and when he saw the bhikkhus brought them full
72 of joy to his own tent, gave them red garments which he
kept ready *for constantly renewed gifts to the bhikkhus*, took
73 the wet garments himself and had them dried, practised the
custom of feet-washing and the like, made them all sit on a
74 well covered couch, offered them medicine, handed it to them
himself, did for them also in the morning everything that
75 had to be done, such as feeding and the like, gave them ser-
vants and let them go when they liked Thus was the be-
ginning of the day[2] spent by him who had his pleasure in
doing meritorious works

76 While thus this most excellent of men directed his life
and also the kingdom, thinking only of meritorious works,
77 keeping all his subjects to meritorious action, Māna tarried
in the Eastern Province and collected troops Then he
78 brought together his father's army and resources and marched
to Tisucullasagāma[3] to begin war Dāṭhopatissa also marched
on hearing the tidings of this, with strong forces to Tambala.
79 When they met they fought a great battle Dāṭhopatissa's
80 warriors sent Māna to Heaven When Dappula heard that,
he died also, pierced with the arrow of grief Seven days
long dwelling in Anurādhapura he had wielded the sceptre[4],

[1] *Gavesanta* has the meaning of seeking as well as finding The verb governs the acc. *bhikkhū* when during their search they found bhikkhus they returned

[2] The reading of the MSS *tassāhi divasam gatam* (as emendation instead of *gato*) is very good and must not be altered as in the Col Ed into *tass' ādivasam gatam* The point lies just in this that already in the early morning the king could satisfy his desire for puñña how much more in the course of the day

[3] The greater number of my MSS have this reading Only in one of them is it corrected into *Tipullavaṭṭagāmakam* The Col Ed reads *Tipucullasagāmakam*

[4] Namely immediately after the death of Kassapa II Then he re

in Rohaṇa he wielded it three years: therefore we have spoken 81
of him in Rohaṇa as well as here[1].

Thus were the joys which a man won toilsomely only by 82
killing his foes in fight, effulgent but for a moment, like the lightning. What wise man would find his pleasure in them?

Here ends the forty-fifth chapter, called "The Four Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

tired to Rohaṇa, his son Māna to the Eastern Province. The events described in v. 78 ff. took place three years later, thus still in the first half of the reign of Dāṭhopatissa. According to Pūjāv. Dappula reigned 3 years and 3 months. According to Rājāv. 10 years. Both sources have in mind the reign in Rohaṇa.

[1] Namely in Anurādhapura.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE THREE KINGS

1 After Hatthadātha's death the younger brother of the king,
the prince Aggabodhi became (king) under the name of Siri-
2 samghabodhi[1]. He was a just monarch, gifted with right
views; therefore he performed meritorious works without number.
3 He took care of the eating-houses of the inmates of the three
fraternities, enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall and decreed the kee-
4 ping of the command not to slay. He bestowed office accor-
ding to worth without preference[2], and by showing favour in
accordance with rank, clans and so forth he won over these
5 to himself. Wherever the discerning (prince) saw bhikkhus he
honoured them and made them recite the Paritta[3] which is
6 contained in the doctrine (of the Buddha) (Once) when he
visited the Thera Dāṭhāsiva who dwelt in Nāgasālā, rich in
7 knowledge, virtuous, highly learned, he paid him reverence,
heard from him the doctrine of the Perfectly Enlightened One,

[1] From *rājino* we must supply the predicative substantive *rājā*

[2] P *anālayo* Cf note to 42 42

[3] Ceremonies at which a Paritta Text is recited are observed on the most divers occasions, joyful and sad, at the inauguration of a new house, on a *journey* or at similar undertakings, for warding off sickness, after cases of death, etc. For such a ceremony at which I was present see Journ PTS 1924—27, p. 237 The epithet *sāsanogadha* stresses the canonical character of the Paritta. The texts of the Paritta are taken from the canonical writings and the Khuddaka Pāṭha itself is a kind of Paritta (s Seidenstücker, Khuddaka Pāṭho, trsl p 2 ff) I am inclined to believe that it is this book which is meant by the Paritta mentioned 37 226. The Paritta ceremonies are derived from popular magic This *is clearly seen in the narrative* 51. 80, 52 80.

rejoiced fervently over the doctrine since it offers absolute
peace. When then he heard of the many injuries done to the 8
bhikkhus of the Thera School by evil-minded villains, former
relatives of his own kinsfolk, he restored the ruined vihāras 9
and pariveṇas as they had been originally and granted them
here and there maintenance villages with abundant revenues.
Where the necessaries had been curtailed he brought them now 10
as it were to new growth. Slaves he placed at the disposal of
the community where they were wanted. For the above named 11
Thera he built a practising-house which bore his name; the dis-
cerning (Thera) accepted it and made it over to the commu-
nity. As maintenance villages the King granted it[1] Bharattāla, 12
Kihimbila, Kataka, Tulādhāra and Andhanāraka, Andhakāra, 13
Antureḷi, Bālava, Dvāranāyaka, as well as Mahānikkaḍḍhika
and further Peḷahāla. Having granted these and other main- 14
tenance villages, the Ruler of men placed at its disposal helpers
for the monastery who were even of his own kindred. Having 15
further seen and heard that necessaries flowed sparingly to the
vihāras of the two fraternities[2], he granted them also many
maintenance villages. What need (is there) of many words? 16
Also to the three fraternities he gave a thousand villages
with large and assured revenues. Bearing in mind the splendid 17
qualities of the three Jewels[3], he took the pearl chain[4] of
one string and made of it a rosary[5]. Thus he was in all 18
his dealings one to whom the teaching of the Buddha was the
highest (good), and vying with him all the people also fulfilled
the (commands of that) doctrine. The Damiḷa by name Pottha- 19
kuṭṭha, who was in his service, erected the wonderful practising-

[1] P. *tassa; padhānagharassa* must be supplied. All the foundations enumerated in vv. 12—14 had to do evidently with the "practising-house" mentioned in v. 11. For the monastery helpers (*ārāmikā* v. 14) see note to 37. 63.

[2] Perhaps the Thūpārāma and the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra. See note to 41.97.

[3] Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha, the Buddha, his doctrine and his Order are thus called.

[4] See note to 44. 127.

[5] P. *akkhamālā* = skr. *akṣamālā* with the same meaning.

20 house, called Māṭambiya[1] and assigned it the Ambavāpi (tank)
at Būkakalla, the village of Tantavāyikacāṭikā, as well as the
21 village of Niṭṭhilaveṭṭhi together with slaves. In the Kappūra-
pariveṇa[2], as well as in the Kurundapillaka(-vihāra) and (in
the vihāra of) Mahārājaghara the same (Potthakuṭṭha) erected
22 pāsādas. In addition he granted, wealthy as he was, three
villages to the vihāras. The wise Senāpati, Potthasāta by
23 name, finished in the vihāra called Jeta a pariveṇa that bore
the King's name. The Damiḷa Mahākanda built the pariveṇa
24 called after him, another (built) the Cullapantha(-pariveṇa)
and Saṃghatissa, the Uparāja of the King, (built) the Sehā-
25 la-uparājaka. Many people besides erected these and other vi-
hāras, emulating the King; for it is the rule with living crea-
26 tures: what he who is master does, evil or good, the same
is done by his subjects; let the wise man take heed of that.
27 The highly virtuous Mahesī of the King, Jeṭṭhā by name, built
28 the Jeṭṭhārāma as abode for the bhikkhunīs and granted it
two villages in the Pattapāsāṇa domain and the village of
Buddhabhelagāma, as well as a hundred monastery helpers.
29 The wealthy Malayarāja gave a costly relic-house for the cetiya
30 in the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra[3] and on the Lohapāsāda he covered
the central pinnacle. The Bodhitissa-vihāra was erected by the
31 highly respected Bodhitissa. All the heads of districts in the
Island built here and there according to their means, numerous
32 vihāras and pariveṇas. The time of this Ruler of men con-
sisted as it were, in nothing but meritorious works; for fear
33 of prolixity they have not been fully enumerated[4]. Even
the foregoing form of the narrative which gives but a sur-

[1] WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. II, p. 10, note 5) identifies with this building the *Māḍbiyan piriveṇa* mentioned in the Timbirivera pillar inscription.

[2] A building in the Abhayagiri vihāra according to 45. 29.

[3] Mentioned as *Māḍḍagiri* in the Medirigiri inscription (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II, p. 28), about 46 m. E. S. E. of Anurādhapura in Tamankaduwa, N. E. of the Minneri lake. The ruins are described in the ASC, Ann. Rep. for 1897 (= XLII. 1904), p. 7.

[4] P. vicaritam. One must start from the meaning "explained singly (vi-), analyzed".

vey of the most important matters[1], seems to me too long-
winded[2].

At another time he had taken up his abode in Pulatthi- 34
nagara[3] whither he had betaken himself, amassing a store of
meritorious works. He was attacked by an incurable disease 35
and as he saw that the time for his death had come, he called
his subjects, exhorted them to piety and went to his death. 36
When he was dead his subjects mourned all in deep grief,
performed for him on his pyre all ceremonies without fail, 37
made for themselves medicine[4] from the ashes of the pyre,
then they took carefully all the royal treasures and the whole 38
army and train under their protection and betook themselves
to the town (Anurādhapura).

Thus the King went in the sixteenth year (of his reign[5]) 39
to Heaven, the Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha administered his kingdom.
He seized the person of the Uparāja Dāṭhāsiva, had him 40
thrown into prison and ordered him to be strictly guarded[6].
But as he thought: without a king it is impossible to rule the 41
earth, he fetched hither the chief of Dhanapiṭṭhi[7] Datta by

[1] Lit.: A general view (*upalakkhaṇaṃ*) of the cases (or examples, *hetūnaṃ*, cf. the meaning of latin *causa*) according to the degree of their importance (*yathāpadhānaṃ* is used exactly like skr. *yathāpradhānaṃ*). W.'s translation: "inasmuch as it has been mixed up with remarks on the nature and condition of things which lead men to good and evil" — a free rendering rather than a translation — misses the point.

[2] Figurative in the original, the comparison with a road (*magga*) which is overcrowded with people (*ākula*).

[3] For the first time here Polonnaruva (cf. 44. 122 with note) is mentioned as a royal residence, though only temporarily.

[4] A very characteristic trait of primitive mentality.

[5] The Sinhalese chronicles call the king only by his epithet *Sirisangbō*. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of 16 years. Both chronicles as also Rājaratn. ascribe to him the building of the Piyagal-piriveṇa and of the Devnuvara(-vihāra). This is Devanagara, now Dondra at the southern point of Ceylon.

[6] The guard (*rakkhāvaraṇa*) refers not as W. thinks, to the country, but to the prisoner, Dāṭhāsiva.

[7] A now uninhabited village, Danpitigama, lies to the north of Ku-

42 name, who belonged to the royal family, and consecrated him
43 king; and in his name[1] he administered the whole. Datta
erected in Dhanapiṭṭhi a vihāra which was called after him
44 and heaped up other meritorious works. After living exactly
two years[2], he died. But Potthakuṭṭha after his death, sum-
45 moned another young man, Hatthadāṭha who was a native
of Uṇhānagara. Him also he consecrated king and acted as
46 before. Having built the practising-house of Kāladīghāvika and
performed other meritorious works, Hatthadāṭha fell after six
months into the power of death[3].
47 When the wise have once realised how baleful are treasures, wealth and power[4] they will surely give up the desire for royal dignity and find their whole joy solely in meritorious works.

Here ends the forty-sixth chapter, called "The Three Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

runegala in the Korale Katuvana, Ambagasse-Palata (Census of Ceylon, II. p. 288).

[1] Lit.: putting forth his (Datta's) name.

[2] In the Sinhalese sources the king is called *Valpiṭirasi-dat*. Pūjāv. gives him a reign of 2, Rājāv. one of 10 years. The place name *Valpiṭa* is often met with in Ceylon.

[3] In Sinhalese sources he is called *Huṇannaruriyan-Daḷa* or the like. The length of reign given him in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. is the same as in the Cūlavs. 6 months.

[4] P. *vāhanāni* "chariot" as emblem of the military power of princes.

[CHAPTER XLVII]

After the death of this king, Mānavamma[1] became king. 1
Of what clan was he? Whose son was he? How came he to reign[2]?

Now there was belonging to the line of Mahāsammata and 2
bringing with him (as inheritance) the good qualities of his clan, a son of Kassapa, the depredator of the Thūpārāma and
(there were also) a daughter of the Malayarāja King Saṃgha- 3
māna[3]. He wedded her and lived with her in retirement in
Uttaradesa (the Northern Province). When this affair had 4
been spied out by the prince Hatthadāṭha, he betook himself
to Jambudīpa and sought out the ruler Narasīha, told him his 5
name and entered his service. He satisfied the Lord of men in
every way. When he felt assured of his friendly feeling, he 6
let his wife come and took up his abode there, serving (the
King) day and night. But the ruler of Kaṇḍuveṭhi[4] who 7

[1] Sinhalese documents call the king Mahalā-pānō.

[2] Here it is again probable that the author has taken a new source for his narrative. Cf. note to 45. 37.

[3] I consider the alterations of the text in the Col. Ed. *bhedino* for *bhojino* in v. 2 and *Saṃghā nām'assa rājinī* instead of *Saṃghamānassa rājino* as inadmissible in view of the complete agreement of the MSS. They are also unnecessary. The word *bhojin* has also in Skr. the meaning of "exploiting" in an unfavourable sense, as we have to take it here. The verses 2 and 3 a. b. are evidently a kind of title, hence the absence of the finite verb. The name of the wife Saṃghā is first mentioned in v. 8.

[4] Namely Narasīha. W. says erroneously "another king, Kaṇḍuveṭhi". The name of the territory *Kaṇḍuveṭhi* over which Narasīha ruled, reminds one of Kaṇḍuveṭṭi in 77. 79 used as the name of a vassal prince

governed the whole kingdom, well pleased with him, granted
8 him a large income In wedlock with him his wife, Samghā
by name, bore four daughters and four sons
9 Now once as the King was taking an airing for pleasure
on the back of his elephant, together with Mānavamma, being
10 thirsty, he drank without dismounting[1], a young coconut, and
passed it then to Mānavamma whom he did not regard as his
11 equal[2]. Mānavamma took it and thought: "My friend is monarch here Is there for such beings such a thing as leavings
12 in the strict sense of the word? It is right therefore if I
drink thereof". Thus he thought and drank thereof. Such
13 great efforts[3] are made by those who wish for success The
King saw that, was alarmed, and in his turn drank what the
other had left over. This is ever the way of acting of the
14 honourable. From that time onward he made him his equal in
food and dwelling, in equipment and means of conveyance
15 While the two so lived (together), the Vallabha King[4]
16 came to make war on Narasīha Narasīha reflected: "This
(my friend) serves me untiringly night and day in the expectation that through my service he will gain the royal
17 dignity which belongs to him by right of descent. If he were

in Southern India It is probably a case of writing the same name in two ways Hultzsch, JRAS 1913, p 527 has shown that Kaṇḍuveṭṭi or veṭṭi is synonymous with Kāḍavāṉ, a designation of the Pallava kings. Thus Narasīha was a Pallava

[1] Lit. being there (namely on the back of his elephant).

[2] It is contrary to custom to offer an equal the remains of one's own meal The word *añña* "not his equal" stands in opposition to *sakā* in v 14 Narasīha realises his error and makes it good by taking the coconut from Mānavamma and drinking what he has left.

[3] In this case the effort of self restraint.

[4] The *Vallabhas* are a South Indian tribe Their ruler is simply described (as also in 51 12 ff) as the Vallabha. Vallabha as the name of a people occurs also in Skr Bahadur Venkayya FI III 277, Hultzsch (JRAS 1913 p. 528) has proved that Narasīha is identical with the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I and his enemy the Vallabha with Pulakeśin II whose capital Vātāpi was taken by Narasīha. Fleet (Hultzsch l c, p 529) has calculated the date as A D 642. Cf H. W. Codrington, H C, p 35–6.

now to march out with me and found his death in battle,
then all that he and I have planned together would be without
result." Pondering thus, the King let Mānavamma return to 18
his town (and) he himself began the war against the Vallabha
king. Mānavamma thought likewise: "If this king, while I 19
am in life, falls in this war, of what value would my life
then be to me? His trust in me would have been an error 20
if I were to behave so. Why by making me his equal did
he favour me?[1] Is is therefore meet that I go forth with him 21
to the battle-field; for it is happiness for me to live or die
with him here." Thus pondering, armed he mounted his fa- 22
vourite elephant, went forth and appeared before the King on
he battle-field. When Narasīha saw him he cried out full of 23
joy: "Truly I have shown him friendship[2] as I was bound
to show it." Thereupon the army of Māna(vamma) and the 24
army of the King scattered the army of the Vallabha king
at their encounter. Mānavamma showed his heroism, distin- 25
guishing himself by his courage like Nārāyaṇa[3] in the battle
of the gods. But Narasīha rejoiced over Mānavamma's bravery 26
and embraced him lovingly with the words: "It is thou who
hast brought me the victory." He returned to his town, held 27
a festival of victory and showed all (honour) that was due to
Mānavamma's army. Now the King thought thus: "My friend 28
has done all that was due on his part; from to-day he is
without obligation towards me. I will now also discharge my 29
debt by doing on my part what is due; for grateful people
who remember what has been done for them are very hard
to find." He assembled the dignitaries and spake these words: 30
"Ye are witnesses of the deeds of this my friend. I also must 31

[1] He has favoured me in the expectation that I might help him in his difficulties.

[2] The acc. *saṃthavaṃ* is governed by *aho*. I now see that he was worthy of what I have done him.

[3] As Indra-Sakka is otherwise always considered as the protagonist of the Gods in the battle against the asuras or demons, we must take *Nārāyaṇa* here to be one of his names. In a passage of the Saṃyutta commentary (ed. Cal. p. 279[22]) the strength of the chaddanta elephants, elephants with 6 tusks, is described as *Nārāyaṇa-balaṃ*.

now show him all the love and happiness which are his due
A return service for him who has earlier rendered us a ser-
32 vice is the duty of the pious" At these words the dignitaries
answered the Ruler "Whatsoever the King wishes finds favour
33 with us" Thereupon the Sovereign gave Mānavamma an army
with the attendant train and the whole equipment and all the
34 necessary *servants* and spake *to* him go forth then, and as
he gazed after him as he marched forth with the army, he wept
35 as for a son that goes to a far country Mānavamma embarked in
the vessels at the sea-coast and arrived quickly, after he had
36 with speedy voyage crossed the sea[1] and penetrated into
Lankādīpa with his army laying waste At tidings of this
37 King Dāṭhopatissa fled Mānavamma came into the town
(Anurādhapura) and without taking over the sovereignty[2], he
38 arose and *pursued closely the fugitive (Dāṭhopatissa)* Then
the Damila army heard that its Lord (Narasīha) was smitten
39 with a fell disease On these tidings it departed When
Daṭhopatissa heard that, he marched with a strong force
40 against Mānavamma and began the fight Mānavamma thought
"My whole army has gone, if I fall[3] then the wish of my
41 foe is fulfilled, I shall betake myself therefore to Jambudīpa
to fetch troops there and recover the dominion" Therefore
42 he did so He departed, sought again his friend Narasīha,
43 and cleverly satisfying him, he served him heedfully During
the reigns of four kings[4] Mānavamma stayed there Then
Narasīha *thought* "*With pride unbroken, finding in honour*
44 his wealth, my friend serves me for the sake of the royal

[1] The *tam* in 35 d must be supplemented by *jala dhim* from *jaladhi tate* in b

[2] P *ahutvā va narādhipo* What is meant is that he wasted no time in performing the ceremonies of *abhiseka* connected with the solemn ascent of the throne Cf 48 26

[3] P *mate mama* Here the gen *mama* takes the place of the loc. *mayi*. See Cūlavs. ed I Introd p XVI

[4] These were the kings Daṭhopatissa II his enemy in his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne as described v 35—41 further Aggabodhi IV., Datta and Hatthadaṭha.

dignity and will become old and grey-headed thereby. How
can I when I see this, exercise dominion? If I cannot at 45
this time by sending forth my troops, gain the kingdom[1] for
him of what use is my life to me? Having so pondered, he 46
collected his army, equipped it with what was needful, gave
it (the pay) it demanded, marched himself at its head to the 47
sea-coast, had numerous strong ships of different shape built
here and spake to the dignitaries: "Go ye with this man 48
here." But all the people there refused to go on board. Then 49
Narasīha reflected, hid himself, but gave his own armour,
known everywhere as badge of the King, and all his own 50
ornaments to Mānavamma, told him to embark and said: "Go
thou and when thou art at sea have this drum called Koṭṭha 51
sounded." He did all this. But the people in the belief it
was their king who was going forth, went on board and left 52
the Ruler of men alone behind. Māna(vamma) began the
voyage with the army. The whole ocean was as a (floating) 53
town. Having reached the port he landed with his army,
remained there a few days that his troops might rest, took 54
Uttaradesa (the North Province), brought the inhabitants into
his power and began with his invincible great army to march 55
on the town. When Potthakuṭṭha[2] heard this he advanced
against him with a large force. The two armies clashed with 56
each other like seas that have burst their bounds. Mānavamma
who fully armed had mounted his elephant, separated Pottha- 57
kuṭṭha and the King and put them to flight. When the people
in the country saw Hatthadāṭha fleeing, they seized his head 58
and showed it to Mānavamma. Potthakuṭṭha fleeing reached
Merukandara[3]. When the chief (of the district) saw him there 59
he thought: "He has been for long my friend; therefore when

[1] The words *imasmiṃ pana vārasmiṃ* as far as *na gahessāmi* form a conditional introductory sentence without a conjunction. Such conditional sentences occur also in Skr. See Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, § 283. W.'s translation goes to pieces on the negative *na*.

[2] He carried on the government for Hatthadāṭha who was nominally king, according to 46. 44 ff.

[3] See note to 41. 19.

he, in his need, takes refuge with me I must not desert him
60 But how can I towards these two, my master and my friend,
remain free from blame?" and he ate poisoned cake and died.
61 Potthakuṭṭha ate of the cake with him and died likewise
Thus for Mānavamma the Island was freed of the briers (of
enemies)
62 From that time Mānavamma set up in the Island the umbrella (of his dominion) warding off therewith as it were, all
63 harm from the inhabitants of the Island. He performed many
inestimable meritorious works; what man would be able to
64 enumerate these in their order? After founding two villages,
he the excellent one erected in the Padhānarakkha(-vihāra)
65 (of the one) the pāsāda called Sepaṇṇi and in the Sirisaṃghabodhi(-vihāra) (of the other) the blissgiving (pāsāda) Sirī. He
roofed over the Lohapāsāda as well as the temple in the Thūpārāma
66 After he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he
made it over to the Paṃsukūlins[1] . . . .
. . . .

[1] P *paṃsukūlin* denotes ascetic bhikkhus who only wore garments made of rags (*paṃsukūla*) patched together In Ceylon the word has without doubt come to designate a particular sect whose members were pledged to the observance described above According to 51. 52 the Paṃsukūlins belonged up to the time of Sena II to the congregation of the Abhayagiri vihāra, when however, they seceded and formed a special group of their own

The MSS are here all badly mutilated Only the MS of the Colombo Museum tested by me on the spot, gives a text at all capable of translation (Cf Cūlavs. ed., vol II Introd p II) 'After building a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he made it over to the Paṃsukūlins What was decayed he restored, after providing that the vihāra could be easily supplied with (the four) necessaries He even restored the umbrella on the decayed temple and he also granted to the adherents of the Dhammaruci (sect) the Rājamātira vihara." It seems to me beyond a doubt that we have here an attempt at emendation on the part of the copyist The Col Ed also tries to restore at least v 6.. The text should be translated thus "After

he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he handed it over to the Paṃsukūlins. He repaired the decayed umbrella on the top of the cetiya; and he also restored numerous shrines which had fallen into decay."

Then too the Sinhalese sources name as successor of Mānavamma (Mahalāpānō) an Aggabodhi (Akbō). According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he was the son of Mānavamma to whom, it is true, they ascribe the reign of 35 years, including no doubt the time of his sejourn in India, while Akbō is said to have reigned 6 years. Also in Mhvs. 57. 25 an Aggabodhi is named as eldest son of Mānavamma.

Now as the signature of our chapter describes it as the 48th, a 47th would therefore be entirely absent. Thus S. and B. have assumed that there is a gap in our MSS. The missing part should have contained as conclusion of chapter 47, the end of the reign of Mānavamma and in the new chapter 48 the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi V, the further course of which is described in the 19 verses which have been preserved. A gap might be explained by the loss of a leaf out of the archetype.

I have adopted this assumption in my edition and translation, must insist however, that the arguments taken singly are not compelling. That the Sinhalese chronicles insert a king who does not occur in the Cūlavaṃsa we have already seen (s. note to 41. 102). Yet on the other hand, the mention of Aggabodhi in 57. 25 must be taken into account. The absence of the chapter number 47 is also not decisive. Numbers 40 and 43 are also wanting without any gap being noticeable in the account of events. It is therefore not impossible that it is merely a case of the mutilation of single verses. The assumption of the loss of a leaf would in the first instance only explain a gap, it would not explain the mutilation of the text after v. 66. It is however, the combination of the two first arguments which make the assumption of a gap probable and the probability is perhaps strengthened by the fact that just at the place where the gap might have to be assumed, the text of the MSS. is in disorder.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE SIX KINGS

1 . . . . After he had made thereof a mansion for which the
necessaries could easily be provided, he also presented the
Rājinīdīpika(-vihāra) to the bhikkhus of the Dhammaruci
2 School. After building the Mahānettapādika cells (for dwel-
ling in), he granted to the same (Dhammarucis) the village
3 of Devatissa in (the district of) Koṭṭhavāta In Mahāthala he
built (the vihāra) called Kadambagona, further in Devapāli
4 the (vihāra) called Girinagara, in *Antarasobbha the Deva-vihāra*,
further he built the Rājamātika monastery and gave it[1] to
5 the Paṃsukūlins[2]. In the Gokaṇṇaka-vihāra[3] he erected a
practising-house and the ruined temple of the Vaḍḍhamāna
6 Bodhi Tree[4] he had restored. In the vihāra called Saṃghamitta
and elsewhere he, the highly-famed, had here and there new
7 works undertaken on the vihāras At a cost of six and twenty
thousand gold pieces[5] he restored whatever had fallen into
8 decay on the Cetiyapabbata Having restored the Tūlavatthu-

[1] It is possible that besides *Rājamātikam ārāmam* as object *adā* should receive the names of all the vihāras mentioned in v 3 and 4

[2] Of the localities mentioned in v 2-4 Antarasobbha alone is mentioned in Mhvs 25. 11 as a district. Instead of Koṭṭhavāta Col ed reads Kokavāta which occurs 37 42 and 47 as the name of a village and of a tank built by Mahāsena (4th c A D). The MSS however, give no authority for this reading Mahāthala is probably the present Matale (north of Kandy) (Thus W in Index s v) For the Paṃsukūlins s. note to 47. 66.

[3] Built by Mahāsena according to Mhvs. 37 41

[4] Cf below 49 15 Like the images of the Buddha, the Bodhi trees had their special names

[5] P *suvaṇṇa*. In Skr *suvarṇa* is a weight = *karṣa*. This is according to BR. = 11 375 gr This would give an *expenditure* of over £ 40 000 according to the present value of gold

vihāra he granted (the village of) Paṇṇabhatta to the vihāra
called after the Ruler of men Mahāsena[1]. The Goṇḍigāmika 9
tank which had burst he dammed up as before and to all
living beings he gave as a gift whatever they needed. The 10
Uposatha day he observed with fasting together with the in-
habitants of the Island, and preached to them the doctrine
in order to procure them spiritual happiness. Everyone in his 11
kingdom cultivated action which leads to Heaven, for as the
monarch acts so do also his subjects. Therefore should a wise 12
king ever practise piety; in every place where men dwell[2]
he will become renowned and finally, surrounded by his com- 13
panions, he enters Nirvana. Therefore the prudent man should
contemplate that which is for his good and for that of others.
For if all the subjects attain good discipline through an in- 14
dividual who himself has good discipline, how could a discerning
man let such an one come to harm?[3] No means for bringing 15
to beings happiness in both worlds was left untried by him
who was unflagging day and night. The fine garments worn 16
by himself he gave to the Paṃsukūlin bhikkhus as raiment.
The employment (of officials) in wrong places, undeserved fa- 17
vour or unlawful seizure (of property) was unknown with him.
To all creatures he gave the nourishment by which each of 18
them live, and whatever makes them happy with that he
blessed them. Thus after the Ruler of men had performed 19
meritorious works for six years[4] he, the peace-maker went
(to the Heaven of) the King of the gods[5].

[1] As neither Tālavatthu nor Paṇṇabhatta are otherwise mentioned it is difficult to understand rightly the sense of this passage. It seems to me that Tālavatthu was an older monastery which Aggabodhi restored and to which he granted a village, afterwards giving it the name of Mahāsena by whom perhaps the older structure had been built. A Buddha image in the *Mahāsena monastery is mentioned in* 51. 76.

[2] P. *nivutthanivutthamhi ṭhāne*, lit. "in each inhabited place" applied by W. to the King "wheresoever he may dwell", which is also possible.

[3] The meaning seems to be this: it lies in his own interest to educate his people to piety by his own example, as this assures his own safety. He will have all the right-minded on his side.

[4] The same length of reign in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

[5] That is to the heaven of the Tāvatiṃsa gods at whose head stands the King of the gods, Sakka-Indra.

20 Now his brother next in age, the prince Kassapa, became
king, well qualified for the royal burden[1], for taking it over
21 according to ancient custom. As a father (wins) his son, so
he *won his people by generosity*, by friendly speech and by
22 care for their welfare. Offices he bestowed on various people
according to merit and he himself enjoyed the pleasures of
23 life, free from all sorrow. For laymen, bhikkhus and brāh-
maṇas the prince encouraged the way of life fitting for each
24 and carried out the command to kill no living creature. The
25 two Macchatitthas[2], the mansion Heligāma, the monastery
Vāṇijagāma, as well as Kassapagiri; further the superb prac-
tising-house called Ambavana, maintenance village[3] . . . .

. . . .

26 Amongst them all the youngest was the prince called
Mahinda. When the royal dignity came to him he was yet
27 not king[4], although he bore the burden of the kingdom. He
had a friend by name Nīla, with whom he had for long had
intimate intercourse. But he had died beforehand. In memory
28 of him he would not have it[5]. Alas! even the dominion over
the Island he deemed not blissful, since his friend was wan-
29 ting. Friends are so hard to get. Hence the Sage (Buddha)

[1] I believe that *rajjabhārassa* (or *rajja°*) is directly governed by *samattho*. In Skr. in the same way with *samartha* the thing for which one is qualified may stand in the loc. or the dative. *Bhārassa* would correspond to both. Instead of *pubbavuttino* I should prefer to read *pubbavuttito*, adverbial ablative.

[2] Inscriptional *Maslota* in an inscription of Mahinda IV. WICKREMASINGHE, *EZ. I 216, 221, 227*.

[3] Here again there is a gap in the recorded text. Of the MSS. with which I am acquainted one, at least, indicates this by leaving a space free for about 4½ ślokas. The finite verb is missing for the objects in vv. 24, 25. The missing verses must have contained the end of the reign of Kassapa III. According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he reigned 7 years. Both sources as well as Rājaratn. mention the building of the Helagam pariveṇa. Of the other names which are mentioned above, Kassapagiri alone occurs again (41. 99).

[4] P. without *rājā*, see note to 47. 57.

[5] Namely the festivities connected with the *abhiseka*.

hath said[1]: "All worldly things and all spiritual things which
lead to Nirvana, these all are the lot of beings who have asso- 30
ciated with a staunch friend; therefore must one ever strive after
(gaining) staunch friends." Only as Ādipāda[2] he administered 31
the kingdom to protect as it were, during his life, living
beings on the Island. On Aggabodhi, the son of his brother 32
Kassapa he conferred the dignity of Uparāja and gave him
abundant revenues. He assigned him (the Eastern Province) Pā- 33
cīnadesa and sent him forth to take up his abode therein. (The
province of) Dakkhiṇadesa the King gave to his own son[3].
To the Mahāpāli Hall he gave an offering of ten cart-loads 34
and beggars he provided with luxuries like his own. He ate 35
nothing without first having given to the beggars, and if
without thinking of it, he had eaten, he used to give them
double of what he had himself enjoyed. For the bhikkhunīs 36
he built an abode which was called after himself and granted
them as convent boundary[4] (the village of) Nagaragalla. He 37
built the Mahindataṭa monastery[5], provided it with the four
necessaries and performed many another meritorious work,
rejoicing at the worth of such works. After the discerning 38
(prince) had reigned in this way for three years[6], he seeking
his friend, entered into the world of the gods.

[1] The *kalyāṇamittā* are often praised in the Canon. It seems to me that this passage is an allusion to Saṃyutta 3. 18 (= I, p. 88) where the Buddha after a eulogy of the *kalyāṇamittatā*, says of himself: *mamaṃ hi, Ananda, kalyāṇamittaṃ āgamma* (cf. v. 30 a!) *jātidhammā sattā jātiyā parimuccanti* etc. The passage occurs once again Saṃy. 45. 2 (= V, p. 3).

[2] See note to 41. 35.

[3] Who likewise bore the name *Aggabodhi*, (See v. 39). W.'s "the southern country (only)" gives a wrong shade of meaning to the context. The bestowal of Dakkhiṇadesa was in no sense a slight. It was just this province which was reserved for the heir apparent.

[4] W. takes *ārāmamariyādaka* as the name of another village.

[5] The *Mahindataṭa* tank had already been built by Aggabodhi I and given this name in honour of the Thera Mahinda who converted the Island to Buddhism. See 42. 29.

[6] The Sinhalese sources call this king Midelpanā or Midel only. The name is missing in the Nik.-s.; Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of three years like the Cūlavs.

39 Now Prince Aggabodhi (son of Mahinda) who dwelt in
Dakkhiṇadesa, had for some reason or other come to the ca-
40 pital While he sojourned there the Ādipāda Mahinda died;
41 thus the kingly power came into his hands After taking
possession of it and securing it he sent a message[1] to Agga-
42 bodhi, the Governor of Pācīnadesa He came hither and be-
came king under the name of Silāmegha[2]. The dignity of
Uparāja the monarch conferred on the Prince (Aggabodhi of
43 Dakkhiṇadesa) The latter entreated the King thus: free
thyself from the burden of cares and enjoy life's pleasures,
44 and administered the government himself As was meet, he
treated his subjects with severity and clemency and all un-
disciplined people on the Island the discerning one brought
45 on to the right path While the twain lived thus, the evil-
minded found no opportunity for interfering, and they thought:
46 the twain must be estranged They went to the King and
spake slanderously to him in secret. "Thou art King in name,
47 in reality the other is king, the Uparāja will take the royal
dignity for himself; the people he has already won over, in
a short time he will be king, of that there can be no doubt."
48 When the Monarch heard that he fell out with the Prince
and the Prince when he noticed that, became a rebel against
49 the King He fled to his province, won over the inhabitants
50 and with mighty forces began the war At Kadalīnivāta[3] a

[1] A message to the effect that everything is ready for him to take over the government. As Aggabodhi of Pācīnadesa is a son of the elder brother Kassapa, he is according to Sinhalese law, the legal successor of Mahinda Mahinda's son Aggabodhi willingly recognises this

[2] Sylvain Lévi (Journ Asiatique May-June, 1900 p 418, cf JRAS. Ceyl Br XXIV, Nr 68 1915 16 p 67 ff) communicates a Chinese account according to which an Indian monk Vajrabodhi, on the way to India touches at Ceylon where he is invited by the king Chi li Chi lo (i e Siri-Sīla) S Lévi identifies this king with Mānavamma (see 47 1 ff), but E. R. Ayrton (Ceylon Notes and Queries II Jan 1914, p. XXVII ff) probably more correctly, with Aggabodhi VI Silamegha.

[3] Must be situated according to 44 6 on the line of march from Dakkhiṇadesa, (more exactly from Mahāgalla not far from the present Nikaveratiya) to Anurādhapura.

bitter fight took place. The Prince suffered a defeat and betook himself to Malaya. Later the King thought gratefully 51
of his cousin's support[1], of the transference of the royal dignity and the rest and grieved quite openly. The Prince too on 52
hearing this, became conciliatory. So they let each other know how they loved one another. The King betook himself 53
quite alone to Malaya, took the prince with him and returned to his capital . . . . . .[2] he married him to his daughter 54
Saṃghā by name. While he lived with her in intimate inter- 55
course with the King, he (once) angered at some fault or other, struck her a blow. She went to her father and wept 56
before him bitterly. "Without reason the husband thou gavest me kills me." Scarcely had the King heard this than 57
he thought: of a truth I have done wrong, sent her at once to a home for bhikkhunīs and made her undergo the ceremony of world renunciation. Now the son of her maternal uncle, 58
Aggabodhi by name, whose heart had been long filled with love for her, thought this was a favourable time to flee with 59
her, seized her secretly and betook himself alone (with her) to Rohaṇa. The Ruler of men Aggabodhi took (his cousin) 60
Aggabodhi with him and betook himself with him to Rohaṇa to slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi. (The Uparāja) Aggabodhi 61
made his cousin (the King) Aggabodhi halt[3], and went himself to the western mountains[4] to slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi.
When at the head of a great army he had brought the whole 62
of Rohaṇa into his power, he delivered battle and seized him and his own wife Saṃghā. From that time onward the three 63

[1] Lit. "of his brother". As the father's brother is called father, so the sons of brothers are brothers.

[2] The line a b of v. 54 is defective in all the MSS. I propose to complete it thus: [illegible] 'with the thought; he is no doubt firm, he being highly pleased gave him &c. &c.

[3] The verb [illegible] stands here in a causative sense instead of *nisīdāpetvā*. Cf. Cūlav. ed. Introd. p. [illegible].

[4] The western mountains of Rohaṇa are probably the not inconsiderable mountain range lying south-east of Ratnapura which reaches its greatest height (over 5000 ft.) to the south of Rakwana where it is crossed by the Bulutota Pass.

lived happily and in harmony in mutual intimate intercourse
64 at their ease. The King built the Vāpārani monastery and
the Mānaggabodhi monastery, further the Sabhattudesabhoga
65 in the Abhayuttara-vihāra as well as pāsādas in the vihāras
Hatthikucchi[1] and Punapiṭṭhi, in the Mahāparivena[2] and in
66 Vāhadīpa[3]. In the Thūpārāma he restored the damaged doors
of the temple as they were before and transposed the pillars[4]
67 therein. *After performing* these and other meritorious works
according to his power, he passed away in the fortieth year
of his reign according to his doing[5].
68 Thereupon the Uparāja Aggabodhi, the fortunate, became
69 king, son of the wise Ādipāda Mahinda. To the Order and
to the laity he showed favour according to merit. With the
70 dignity of Uparāja he invested his own son Mahinda. The
ruined temple of the great Bodhi Tree he built anew and so-
lidly; he also built two monasteries: Kalanda and Mallavāta.
71 By legal acts he carefully reformed the Order of the Conqueror
(Buddha) and judging according to justice, he rooted out un-
72 *just judges. He himself studied the medicinal plants over*

[1] See note to 42. 21. [2] See note to 42. 26.

[3] Mentioned again 49. 33 under Udaya I and 49. 76, along with the Hatthikucchi-vihāra, under Dappula II.

[4] It seems to me that what is meant by the temple (*geha*) of the Thūpārāma is the superstructure of the cetiya. What makes this likely is the mention of the pillars which were re-arranged by the King. The pillars which surround the thūpa in four rows are in the Thūpārāma (as also in the Laṅkārāma cetiya) still partially preserved. They were intended to support the roof which was of wood. Cf. for plan Smither Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura, p. 4 ff. Such superstructures are described as *cetiya-* or *thūpa-gharāni* or *gehāni* analogous to the *bodhi-gharāni* or *-gehāni*. Smither doubts it is true, whether the pillars at the Thūpārāma cetiya could have borne such a structure, while Parker (Ancient Ceylon p. 270) quite admits the possibility. The custom of building over a cetiya is even to-day not unknown. I myself saw an interesting example in the Bodamulara monastery at Nikaweratiya which I visited on the 20th April 1926 in the company of the Archaeological Commissioner Mr A. M. Hocart. The term *thūpaghara* is inseparable from that of *bodhighara* (s. note to 58. 43).

[5] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give King Akbō a reign of 40 years.

the whole island of Laṅkā (to find out) whether they were
wholesome or harmful[1] for the sick. He had rice by allot- 73
ment[2] distributed to the inmates of the three fraternities
and delicious foods fitting for himself, to the Paṃsukūlins.
The King, having thus with unrestricted royal power, per- 74
formed these and other meritorious works, died after six years
just as he was sojourning in Pulatthinagara[3].

Formerly Aggabodhi had a son; he had died as Yuvarāja. 75
Since then no son existed as heir to the throne[4]. There was 76
however a son of the King Silāmegha[5] by name Mahinda,
fitted for the royal dignity, rich in merit, capable of winning
the people for himself. On the day of his birth the King 77
(Silāmegha) consulted the astrologers and when he heard their
answer that the boy was fitted for the royal dignity, he gave 78
them plenty of money and kept the matter a secret. But when
he grew up he made him his senāpati. He gave the entire 79
government into his hands[6] and as independent ruler the
discerning (prince) fulfilled the royal duties in a just way[7].

[1] W. gives an entirely different rendering. He separates *maṅgalaṃ cāvamaṅgalaṃ* from *bhesajjaṃ* and translates: "ordained the form and manner of holding festivities and funerals". There is no verb in the text corresponding to "ordained". All the accusatives are governed by *vicārayi*. But if *maṅgalaṃ cāvamaṅgalaṃ* meant what W. assumes, the objects to be tested by the King would still have been very heterogeneous and the combination of *m. cāvam.* with *bhesajjaṃ* very amazing.

[2] S. Childers, Pali Dict. s. v. *salākā*: "Food belonging to the collective saṅgha of a monastery was sometimes distributed to the monks by tickets called *salákā*, and consisting of slips of wood, bark, bamboo, talipot leaf or other similar material. Food so distributed was called *salákabhattaṃ* "ticket-food" . . . Similar tickets seem to have been issued by private persons, like our soup-tickets".

[3] The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Pulatthinagara is here again a temporary royal residence as in 46. 34.

[4] Lit.: The kingdom was sonless. *Yuvarāja* is here used of Mahinda as *uparāja* above in v. 69.

[5] I. e. Aggabodhi VI. Cf. above v. 42.

[6] This happened evidently at the time when Aggabodhi VI. was in conflict with his Uparāja, afterwards King Aggabodhi VII. Cf. above v. 48 ff.

[7] We have here one of these cases where in the course of a sentence the subject changes the gerund being used in the sense of a Loc. abs.

80 Therefore when (King Silāmegha) died, he as clever statesman[1]
took not the dignity of senāpati from the hand of his suc-
81 cessor Aggabodhi (VII). (On the contrary) at that time he
betook himself with some kind of commission from the King
to the sea-coast and took up his abode in the seaport of
82 Mahātittha[2]. When he heard here of the death of his uncle[3]
he came hither in haste (fearing) rebels might seize the king-
dom and destroy it.
83 Then in (the Northern Province) Uttaradesa the chiefs of
districts together with the dwellers in the province seized the
84 land by force and refused tribute to the King[4]. At the ti-
dings of this Mahinda advanced with a great army to Uttara-
desa, crushed all the chiefs of districts together with the
85 dwellers in the province, betook himself then to the spot
where the King had died, sought out the Queen, wept (with
her), comforted her according to the circumstances of the time,
86 and spake the following words: "Grieve not, Great Queen, that
thy husband is dead. I will shelter the Island, thou mayest
87 keep the royal dignity." By her silence she seemed to assent;
in secret the crafty one took measures to slay him, as she
88 wanted to live in her own way. When the Senāpati (Mahinda)
found this out, he had her watched and put her adherents,
89 a great number of people, to flight in combat. Then he had
the Queen put into fetters and brought in a chariot, took her

(See note to 39. 26). Aggabodhi is subject of *kaled* in 78 b and *kalesi* in 79 a. With *so* in 79 c Mahinda is meant. W. gets out of the difficulty by apparently separating *sayamcasi* into *sayam casi* and translating 'he lived (without care and anxiety)'. But for this interpretation there are no corresponding words in the text for those which the translator has put in brackets.

[1] P. *nayaññu*. One can perhaps see in such expressions the influence of the Indian Nīti literature. Cf. *yathāruyam* below in v. 96.

[2] Now *Mantai* or *Mantota* not far from Mannar. It is already mentioned in Vijaya's time (Mhvs 7. 58) as the place where settlers from the Indian mainland land.

[3] P. *cūḷapituno* lit. of his little father. His grand father and the father of Aggabodhi VII were brothers. Cf. note to 51. 24.

[4] Lit. they made the country into one where the King's taxes were cut off.

with him to the capital and seized the royal power together
with the (royal) treasure[1].
Now there was also a sister's son of King Silāmegha called 90
Dappula, an ādipāda who had at his disposal a large army
and considerable means. He sojourning in Kālavāpi, collected 91
his army and advanced to the neighbourhood of Saṅgagāma
to begin the war[2]. At the tidings of these events the Senā- 92
pati marched in haste thither, at the head of his army, taking
the Queen with him. A terrible battle took place there be- 93
tween the two. When the Ādipāda saw his army falling back
he took flight and escaped with his army into the mountains[3]. 94
After the Senāpati had put him to flight there, he lived
happily.
When the district chiefs of Uttaradesa heard that the ca- 95
pital was unoccupied they all came together and took the
town. But the Senāpati, a hero of indomitable courage, chased 96
them away again, entered the town himself and administered
the government according to the rules of statecraft[4]. For the 97
bhikkhu community, for the laity, for fishes, game and birds,
for his kinsfolk and for the troops he did everything that was
meet for them. Later on Dappula who was in Malaya, brought 98
together a reserve army. He summoned his two sister's sons
from Rohaṇa and taking all the inhabitants of the province 99
with him, he reached the town with a great army at night
time and broke over it like the ocean. The troops encom- 100

[1] See 39. 28; 41. 20.

[2] As *bhāgineyya* of Aggabodhi VI. he held that he was the legal heir before Aggabodhi's son Mahinda. The same view is taken by Dappula's brothers (see v. 116) who believe themselves entitled to the crown after him.

[3] According to the Col. Ed. one should translate: "he climbed with his train the Acchasela mountain". This name does not occur in any of the MSS. with which I am acquainted. The majority have simply *palāyitvānamāruhittha savāhano.* Two MSS. insert *saseno* before *savāhano,* evidently a gloss to this word. The object of *āruhittha* is everywhere missing. I have supplied it according to the sense. Perhaps one should read *Malayaṃ so savāhano.*

[4] See note to 48. 80.

121 camp at the village of Mahummāra. When the three Ādipādas
had knowledge of his advance they began a great battle at
122 Koviḷāragāma. But the King with his strong army destroyed
their forces. Dappula fled, the two Ādipādas fell.
123 Here also again victorious, the Monarch returned to the
capital; he practised the royal duties and instituted a great
124 almsgiving. For the great Bodhi Tree, that prince of trees,
for the three great cetiyas and for the relics he, full of re-
125 verence, instituted a great offering. Dappula who had betaken
himself to Rohaṇa, arriving there, raised troops to fight anew
126 against the King. The King (wishing) to bring order into
the land for his children and his children's children assembled
127 in the Thūpārāma all the bhikkhus and other wise persons
who knew what is seemly and what is unseemly — he who
was versed in all the duties of a king, they who were learned
128 in statecraft. He informed them of the events, and after de-
creeing everywhere what was to be done throughout the Is-
129 land and in the capital, he with their consent set out with
a great army consisting of the four members[1], and provided
with all resources, and came within a short time to the Māra
130 mountains[2]. He laid waste the country and immediately there-
after ascended the mountains. When they saw that in Rohaṇa
131 they yielded themselves through fear. Hereupon the haughty[3]
one made a treaty with Dappula. He received from his hands
132 elephants, steeds and jewels, decreed the Gāḷhagaṅgā[4] as the

[1] The four *aṅgāni* of an army are the elephants, the chariot fighters, the riders and the infantry.

[2] A Maragala (probably = Māragallaka in 55. 26) is situated east of Madampe in the Atakalan Korale of the province of Ratnapura, Meda-pattu. If we can associate our Mārapabbata with this, Mahinda II must have pushed against Rohaṇa from the N. W. (Ratnapura—Pelmadulla—Madampe). The mountains he ascended would be the range to the South of Rakvana with the Bulutota Pass.

[3] P. *sadappaka* contains a pun on Dappula's name.

[4] The MSS. undoubtedly point to this reading. The name Gāḷhagaṅgā is however, otherwise unknown. One might take it for a name of the Mahaveliganga since *oragaṅga* "land on this side of the Gaṅgā" is always used of the territory on the left bank of this stream. In th's

boundary of the rulers of Rohaṇa and kept the land on this side of the river for himself, making thereof royal property.
Thus had the powerful (prince) freed the Island from all briers[1], as sole monarch he entered the capital and lived 133
therein happily. The mighty King founded the Dāmavihāra- 134
pariveṇa and the Sannīratittha(-vihāra) in Pulatthinagara. In 135
the Abhayagiri he erected the Mahālekha-pariveṇa. Then the wealthy (prince) having built at a cost of three hundred thou-
sand (kahāpaṇas) the superb, many-storeyed Ratanapāsāda[2], 136
like a second Vejayanta[3], and having at a cost of sixty thou-
sand (kahāpaṇas) had made of pure gold an image of the 137
Master, furnished with a costly diadem of jewels, he held
with all pomp a magnificent dedicatory festival for the 138
consecration of the Pāsāda, and dedicated (to the Buddha)
thereby his whole kingdom[4]. He also had a splendid Bodhi- 139
satta[5] made of silver and placed the beautiful (statue) in the
Silāmegha[6] home for bhikkhunīs. In the Thūpārāma he made 140
a gold casing of the thūpa and for the sake of diversity he

treaty the Mahaveliganga would then be fixed for the first time as the boundary between Rohaṇa and the territory immediately belonging to the king, being always held as such later on. The Col. Ed. reads *Gāḷhabhogaṃ*.

[1] See note to 42. 14.

[2] A. M. Hocart supposes the Ratanapāsāda to be the very considerable building known by tradition as the "Elephant Stables" whose ruins lie to the west, not far from the Abhayagiri Thūpa (Northern Thūpa), Memoirs ASC. I (1924), p. 1 ff. According to the Mahāvs. it was built by Kaniṭṭhatissa (223—241 A. D.) for the Thera Mahānāga who lived in the Bhūtārāma. It is, however, interesting that in the building which according to Hocart's discovery, lay below the later structure, there was an inscription belonging to Gajabāhu I. (171—193 A. D.) Mahinda II. evidently rebuilt the pāsāda of Kaniṭṭhatissa. A *Ruvan-Mahapahā* is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 215, 218, 226.

[3] Skr. *Vaijayanta*, name of Indra's palace.

[4] For this custom cf. 39. 31 (with note).

[5] Probably the Bodhisatta *Metteyya*, the only future Buddha whom the Southern Schools mention by name.

[6] The same convent for nuns is mentioned 49. 25 under the successor of Mahinda II.

141 had strips of silver introduced at regular intervals[1]. There
too he repaired the decayed pāsāda. Instituting a great festi-
142 val, the discerning (prince) had the Abhidhamma recited by
the Grand Thera dwelling in the Hemasāli(-vihāra) and
143 built a bathing tank there for his use. He restored many
decayed temples of the gods[2] here and there and had costly
144 images of the gods fashioned. He gave the brāhmaṇas de-
licious foods such as the King receives and gave them milk
145 with sugar to drink in golden goblets. To the lame he gave
bulls as well as the needful maintenance, and to the Damiḷas
146 he gave horses, as they would not take cattle. The poor who
were ashamed to beg he supported in secret, and there were
none on the Island who were not supported by him according
147 to their deserts. Pondering how food could be provided for
cattle, he gave them young corn full of milky juice from a
148 thousand fields. He also strengthened the weir[3] of the
Kālavāpi tank. Such like meritorious works of his were
boundless.

149 His son, the Yuvarāja, was then already dead, but there
was still another son, born to him at the time when he was
150 Senāpati[4]. The King fearing that the (other) princes might
kill him, thinking he was fitted for the royal dignity, let him
151 grow up without care, just as chance might determine. When

[1] P. *thūpassa 'kāsi sovaṇṇakañcukaṃ*. When a thūpa became dilapidated one used to build round it a new casing of brick. Such a casing was called *kañcuka*. Mahinda places a casing of gold and silver plates on the cetiya of the Thūpārāma. In 49. 81 we are told that king Dappula II also covered the thūpaghara in the same vihara with golden bricks and in 50. 35 that the gold plates of the Thūpārāma cetiya were plundered by the Paṇḍu king.

[2] The Brahmanical religion, Hinduism, had always a place in Ceylon along with Buddhism and was recognised by the reigning princes.

[3] P. *rājasampat'a*. Cf. 68. 35, 57.

[4] Hence in the time before his marriage with the Queen Dowager who bore him the son (see v. 118) who was appointed Uparāja and who had in the meantime died. *Note that neither of the princes is named.* Cf. below note to 49. 1.

the town was surrounded by foes, this prince came to his father and begged from him a fighting elephant. The King 152
gave him his big elephant, terrible as the elephant of Māra[1], and in addition a trained force versed in the use of arms.
He spake: now it is time, girt his sword, mounted the mighty 153
elephant, went forth from the town, scattered the whole al- 154
most invincible army and won the victory[2]. When the King saw that he rejoiced and granted him the dignity of senāpati.
He (then) betook himself with his forces to (the North Pro- 155
vince) Uttaradesa[3] and put to flight the Ādipāda Dappula
together with his army. Therefore was Dappula filled with 156
a great hatred towards him. When he met him face to face
in the battle of Mahāummāra[4] he grew furious and hastily 157
spurred on his elephant to kill him. But the other rammed with his own elephant (that of Dappula) and put him to flight.
When the King saw that he was highly pleased and as other- 158
wise none was there (suitable) to claim the royal dignity, he conferred on him the office of his Uparāja.

After Mahinda had thus for twenty years[5] enjoyed the full 159
(dominion over the) Island he entered Heaven to enjoy the fruits of his meritorious actions.

Thus all the delights of fortune won by all kinds of means 160
through bitter suffering disappear in a moment. Truly only fools can find delight therein.

Here ends the forty-eighth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] See note to 41. 48.

[2] This episode took place in the sortie (described in v. 106 ff.) from Anurādhapura when it was besieged by Dappula.

[3] Refers to what is described in v. 112.

[4] See above v. 120.

[5] The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE FIVE KINGS

1 After his father's death the Uparāja (Udaya) became king[1], apt to mete out punishment and favour to foes and friends
2 As Mahesī the King had the clever Senā by name and little children (had he) who were very dear to the king and *charming*

[1] There is no doubt that the Uparāja meant here is the one mentioned in 48 158, as the son of Mahinda by a former marriage (48. 149) The name of this prince is, however, nowhere directly mentioned in the Cūlavamsa The four Sinhalese sources have Udā — Udaya as successor of Mahinda II, and the accuracy of their statement is indirectly confirmed by the Cūlavamsa The successor of the unnamed king is his son Mahinda (III) After him comes an Aggabodhi (VIII) whose relationship with his predecessor is not mentioned As however, there is mention (49 44) of his grandfather in a way which clearly points to Mahinda II., he must have been the brother of Mahinda III and like him the son of the unnamed king Now it is said of this Aggabodhi VIII in 49 45, that he built a pariveṇa and called it *Udayaggabodhi* by joining his father's name with his own *Hence the son of Mahinda II and father of Mahinda III and Aggabodhi VIII was called* Udaya. In the Sinhalese translation of Sumangala and Batuwantudawa, also in Wijesinha's English translation and in all following publications, as far as I can see, this king gets the name of Dappula I suppose on the ground of the following consideration According to 49 30, the unnamed king built a *Dappulapabbata* and in 50 60, it is said that king Sena I finished the *Dappulapabbata* begun in the time of *King* Dappula. Thus the unnamed king was called Dappula This in no way upsets the absolutely conclusive argument for the name Udaya the more so since the two notices about the Dappulapabbata do not in the least agree According to 49 30, it was an *ārāma erected* (not begun) by the king himself in the Ambayyāra vihāra and granted to the bhikkhus. In 50 60, it was a structure (vihāra?) commenced by on Mahāleva under king Dappula and finished by King Sena I This

to look at[1]. The dignity of yuvarāja he bestowed on his 3
eldest son, the others he made ādipādas; of his daughters he
made queens[2]. Offices the King bestowed on these and those 4
persons according to their deserts, and his subjects he won
by the four heart-winning qualities. Now the King had for 5
some reason or other betaken himself to Maṇihīra[3], and while
he sojourned there he heard that the border-land was in re-
bellion. Thereupon he sent with all haste the Senāpati and 6
his son with the order to go thither and bring the district
under his sway. When these had betaken themselves there, 7
slanderers who were planning strife, by all kinds of idle talk
estranged the twain from the Ruler of men. Now the twain 8
began as foes (of the King) to get possession of the country
for themselves. On tidings of this the King betook himself
at once to Dūratissa[4]. He slew the twain, took possession 9
of everything they had, slaughtered all their accomplices, and
betook himself to Pulatthinagara[5].

Dappula can very well be Dappula II. (49. 65 ff.), the second predecessor of Sena I. It is a question therefore, whether the two Dappulapabbatas had anything at all to do with each other. If we assume that they had, then the building in 49. 30, is wrongly ascribed to Udaya I. or at least its name is due to a mistake. It was erected, as we are told by the more exact and therefore more trustworthy notice in 50. 80, under Dappula II. (W: D. III.). Sena finished the building and it probably only then got its name.

[1] The Col. Ed. alters the reading *khuddā puttā* in which all MSS. agree, to *khuddaputtā*. W. translates: "(she) had a little son." I merely point out that in the very next verse several sons and daughters are mentioned.

[2] W.'s translation "and gave his daughters away to the other governor of the Rohaṇa to be his queens" is quite wrong. We have to do with the granting of titles and honours (*rājinī* acc. pl.). Cf. below 50. 58 and 54. 11.

[3] See 42. 34 with note.

[4] A Dūratissa tank is mentioned 79. 32, among the tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu. The events described evidently take place in the North Province.

[5] W.'s translation: "returned again to the city of Pulatthi" is inexact; for the text has *gami* not *paccāgami*. It also gives a wrong picture; for Udaya was not in Pulatthinagara before, but in Maṇihīra.

10 At that time there lived in the province of Rohaṇa a nobleman Mahinda by name, a son of the Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva
11 who administered the revenues of the country. He fell out with his father and betook himself to the King. When the King beheld him he was much pleased and showed him
12 grace according to his deserts. To strengthen the friendship with him he gave him his daughter, by name Devā, and sent
13 troops to Rohaṇa. Mahinda set out, laid Rohaṇa waste with the help of the royal army, drove out his father to Jambudīpa and took possession of Rohaṇa.
14 In the Mahāvihāra Udaya[1] built a fine, solid house for the distribution of food by allotment[2]. To the Kholakkhiya image of the Lord of Sages (Buddha) he granted, for the
15 outlay on festivals, the village of Mahāmaṅga, having himself offered (to the image) according to his capacity. For the prince
16 of trees, Vaḍḍhamāna[3], he restored the broken down temple and granted for its guardianship the wealthy village of Koṭṭhā-
17 gāma. To the Nilārāma (monastery) he gave the village of Kalussa and to the bronze image (of the Buddha) he gave the village of
18 Ārāmassa. What was broken down he restored and he had images fashioned as well as a great many pāsādas, cetiyas and
19 vihāras erected[4]. In Pulatthinagara[5] he built of his great pity a large hall for the sick, and likewise in Padīva, each
20 provided with a maintenance village, also halls for cripples[6] and the blind in different places. *Judgments which were just*
21 he had entered in books and (these) kept in the royal palace *because of the danger of violation of justice*. To the vihāra called Nagaravaḍḍhana he made over several maintenance villages.

[1] In the original the name is not mentioned, it simply says he built.

[2] P. *salākagga* for *salākā*, cf. note to 48. 73.

[3] See note to 48. 5.

[4] I now prefer to add the accusatives *pāsāde* etc. in v. 18 a-b to the preceding verse so that they are governed by *kārayi* in 17 d. The new sentence begins then with *Pulatthinagare*.

[5] Note how Pulatthinagara gains more and more in importance (cf. also 48. 134).

[6] P. *pīṭhasappin*, lit. who moves with aid of a chair (*pīṭha*), i.e. a support that one pushes in front of one.

and without annulling ancient charters[1], and observing former
decrees, he maintained permanently the great almsgivings[2] in- 22
stituted by his father and all the other meritorious works
which he carried out without curtailment. The Mahesī, too, 23
of the great King performed many meritorious works. The
Queen built on the Cetiya mountain the Katthaka-cetiya[3], and 24
having built the Jayasenapabbata(-vihāra), she granted it to
the Damiḷa bhikkhu community[4]. She also made over to them
the village of Mahummāra. Then she built a home for bhikkhunīs 25
called Silāmegha, and gave it to the (former) home for
bhikkhunīs called Silāmegha[5]. Villages which had been sold 26
she redeemed, by giving the (necessary) money to the vihāra
and granting the villages to the vihāra in question. Having 27
had all the great trees on the Cetiya mountain clipped[6], the

[1] P. *lekhe*. We have to do here with deeds of gift, so-called *sannas*, written on engraven on copperplates, occasionally on silver or gold, or written on palm leaves such as are still preserved in considerable numbers. H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla-District, p. 91. This passage is probably the oldest confirmation of the custom.

[2] See above 48. 123-4.

[3] In contradiction to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. alters the name into *Kaṇṭakaṃ cetiyaṃ*, apparently merely for the sake of getting hold of a familiar Pāli word (*kaṇṭaka* "thorn").

[4] Very doubtful. The MSS. are all corrupt. They read *dlāmissadā*, have thus a syllable too little. If my restoration *dāmiḷassadā* is right — it is at any rate nearer the MSS. than the *gāmikassadā* of the Col. Ed. — it would mean that also Damiḷas in Ceylon were Buddhists, but that the bhikkhus of this nationality formed a special group.

[5] We must assume that the old convent of this name mentioned 48. 139, had fallen into decay. The Queen built a new convent, gave it the same name and granted it to the bhikkhunīs who lived in the former one, as their home.

[6] That *chedayitvāna* here means "after he had felled" is not plausible to me. But the clipping of the branches to facilitate the putting on of the flags and to enable them to be seen is quite intelligible. This makes the trees into votive "rag-trees". For analogies s. R. Andrée, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche (1878), p. 58 ff.; Mannhardt, Wald- und Feldkulte[2] (1904), I. p. 219 ff. and passim; v. Schröder, Arische Religion (1916), II. p. 282.

King[1] gave brightly coloured flags and streamers as offerings.
28 In the domain of the Pucchārāma[2](-vihāra) he restored the pāsāda and for it he made out of the poor maintenance vil-
29 lage of Ussānavitthi a rich one. The vihāra Giribhaṇḍa[3] which had gone to rack and ruin he restored as it had been formerly, and granted maintenance villages to the bhikkhus
30 dwelling there. In the Ambuyyāna(-vihāra) he built the dwelling house Dappulapabbata[4] and made it over, provided with
31 the four necessaries to three hundred bhikkhus. Having built the beautiful monastery Nilagalla, he had a canal laid out which made fruitful much country and granted it (to the
32 monastery). In the Arikāri-vihāra he renewed what was broken down and built (there) a house for the distribution of food by allotment, and a pāsāda which was formerly missing.
33 In Vāhadīpa[5] he built the Senaggabodhipabbata(-pāsāda) and in the three fraternities he, the deeply learned, had the sa-
34 cred texts recited. To those among the bhikkhus who were engaged in the hardest studies[6] he presented[7] bronze almsbowls and he left undone nothing of that which one calls a
35 meritorious work. To widowed women of good family he gave ornaments and when they wanted food he handed them food

[1] It is uncertain whether the works enumerated in 27 30 are to be ascribed to the Queen or the King In 26 we have *sā* as subject, but in 31 *so*. I prefer to assume the King as author, the services of the Queen being usually devoted to the bhikkhunīs.

[2] The Col Ed changes the name, against the MSS., into Pubbārāma. See note to 50 69

[3] Mhvs. 34 81 *speaks of a great festivity instituted by King* Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (66 78 A. D) on the Cetiya mountain (Mihintale), which received the name *Giribhaṇḍa mahāpūjā* This name is probably connected with that of the vihāra.

[4] See below 50. 80 and above note to 49 1. [5] See note to 48 65

[6] P. *suganthike* from *gantha*, skr. *grantha*. Cf. *ganthika-bhikkhu*, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā ed H. C. Norman, I 156[2]. See Rhys Davids and Stede, PTS P. D s v. *ganthika* W.'s translation "compelled the priests to accept his offering of alms bowls" is impossible For that it would have to be *bhikkhū* instead of the genitive *bhikkhūnam* of the text.

[7] Lit.: he let them receive (*gaṇhāpesi*).

46 choosing for it his father's name[1] and his own Further, he
built the pariveṇa[2] called Bhūta, furnished with (the needful)
revenues and granted it to his own teacher and three hundred
47 bhikkhus To the Rājasāla(-vihāra)[3] he granted the village
of *Cūlavāpiyagāma and two villages to the Kalūla and Malla-*
48 vata[4] vihāras On the Uposatha days he forbade the bringing
in of fish, meat and intoxicating drinks into the centre of the
49 town When he had done reverence to the bhikkhus or the
cetiyas, he used, when leaving, to clean his feet thoroughly,
50 that no sand might be lost All actions leading to Heaven
and to delivrance, all those actions he performed with faith
in the three (sacred) objects[5]
51 The King found pleasure in the serving of his mother day
and night He went to wait on her already early in the
52 morning, rubbed her head with oil, perfumed the parts moist
53 with sweat[6], cleaned her nails and bathed her carefully He
clad her himself in a new garment, pleasant to the touch,
54 and the cast-off raiment he took and cleaned it himself With
the water therefrom he sprinkled his own head together with
the diadem, and worshipped her perfectly with fragrant flo-
55 wers as a cetiya After making obeisance before her three
times, and walking, with right side facing, round her and

[1] The name Udaya See note to 49 1 The vihāra Udā Agbo is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV WICKREMASINGHE EZ I p 216 221 227

[2] A Bhūtārāma is mentioned already under Kaniṭṭhatissa (223 241 A D). Here we have probably to do with a new building in this monastery

[3] *According* to my conjecture, *Rājasālaya* instead of *rājā sālāya* The word *sālā* alone says too little

[4] Mallavāta vihāra, built *according to* 48 70, by Aggabodhi VII

[5] See note to 37 214 and 41 55

[6] W's translation "cleanse her body' is too general The verb *ubbatteti* is used of rubbing in with some kind of perfumed substance To the passages cited by RHYS DAVIDS and STEDE I may add Dīghanik II $324^{14\,16}$, Vinaya ed OLDENBERG III 329^{3}, Thūpavaṃsa ed Col p. 33^{11} Mahav Tīkā, ed Col p 132^{9} The word *jallikā* means 'sweat drops just as the more frequent *rajojalla* must be translated by dust and sweat *Cf* *sedajallikā* Sn 198 (RH D and ST)

giving her attendants raiment and the like to their heart's
content, he offered her delicious food with his own hand, 56
partook himself of what she left and strewed thereof on his
head. To her attendants he gave the best food such as was 57
meant for the king, and when he had put in order her
chamber, fragrant with sweet odours, he carefully prepared 58
there with his own hand her couch, washed her feet, rubbed
her gently with fragrant oil, sat by her rubbing her limbs
and sought to make her sleep[1]. Then with right side facing, 59
he walked round her bed, did reverence three times in the
right way, ordered slaves or servants as guard and without 60
turning his back on her, went out. At a spot where she
could no longer see him, he halted and three times again did
reverence. Then happy at his action, and ever thinking of 61
her, he went home[2]. As long as she lived he served her in
this way.

Once he addressed one of his slaves with the word "slave"; 62
to make up to him for it, he let him use[3] the same word
towards himself. The wise (prince) made his mother offer 63
his own person as a gift to the bhikkhu community, then
paid down a sum equal to his own value and was thus again
a free man. Thus holding meritorious works as the highest, 64
he did good to the Island and went after (a reign of) eleven
years[4] to the world of the gods.

[1] P. *katvā niddaṃ upecca taṃ*, a highly curious construction. *niddaṃ upecca* would mean "after she had fallen asleep". By the addition of *katvā taṃ* the causative meaning is given "after he had brought about that she fell asleep". See Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. XV.

[2] In the original this whole section from v. 55 to 61 forms one sentence. The fin. verb *yāti* is in the pres. to express continued repetition. All the preceding verbs are gerunds.

[3] W.'s translation "it grieved him so that he himself sought to obtain his servant's 'forgiveness" is too vague and overlooks the point, namely, that he permits his servant to call him by the same contemptuous epithet which he himself had used to him.

[4] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. have the same. In Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. the king is called Mädī-Akbō.

for his sons, had not made[1] his brother's son, Mahinda by
85 name, ādipāda. As the latter could not bring himself to show
reverence to his younger kinsman, he fled in his confusion to
86 the other coast[2] . . . . When he (the King) heard of their
arrival he sent out a strong force gave them battle and seized
their heads[3].

87 In the monastic fraternities he ordered everything that
had to be done and throughout the Island he caused the pre-
88 vention of evil action. The bhikkhus in the smaller vihāras[4]
used to receive rice gruel as medicine in the Mahāvihāra.
89 When the King heard of it he was dipleased; he granted (the
small vihāras) the important village of Kaṇṭhapiṭṭhi, (the village
90 of) Yābālagāma, (the village of) Telagāma and a well-filled canal
and gave orders that the bhikkhus should receive their rice
gruel in (their own) vihāra. After that they all received the
91 gruel gratefully (in their vihāra) On the Island he had the
drums beaten and summoned the beggars, distributing to them
gold as much as they wanted, for three days

92 Having performed these and other meritorious works, the
King went after three years[5] to behold the reward for his
faith in the three (sacred) objects, driving, as it were, in a
heavenly chariot to death.

[1] Against the law of succession See above note to v 65

[2] *Hence to southern India* The word *refers to* Mahinda's *inner* conflict. He sees no way of escape except by flight to the mainland

[3] The *tesam* at the beginning of the verse is surprising, since only o n e Mahinda was mentioned before. W. seeks to make the plural intelligible by supplementing (v 85) "with all his brethren". But that is not in the text. Besides, according to 60 4, it is the succeeding king, Sena I. who kills Mahinda. I think we must assume a gap in our text. The missing part (perhaps only a s i n g l e verse) dealt with friends and adherents *of* Mahinda *who fought at first for his rights* and were defeated by Aggabodhi.

[4] What is meant are the smaller vihāras of Anurādhapura in contrast to the three great nikāyas

[5] So Pūjāv *In Rājāv* and *Rājaratn* Aggabodhi IX is not named His successor Sena is also omitted Nik. s. calls him *Pāsula-Akbā*.

Thus all corporeal beings are impermanent. Even the all-wise Buddhas are doomed to die. Hence a prudent man giving up (everything) that proceeds from the lust of being, will keep his thoughts fixed on nirvana[1]. 93

Here ends the forty-ninth chapter, called The Five Kings, in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] P. *buddho vibhave bhaveyya.* Cf. skr. *budh* with acc. or gen. "to direct the mind to something". In P. the loc. is used instead of the gen.

CHAPTER L

THE ONE KING

1 Hereupon his younger brother Sena[1] raised the umbrella
(of dominion) in the town, abounding in riches, who looked
2 on all creatures as on a dear son He adhered to the con-
duct of former kings in accordance with tradition, and he per-
3 formed also pious actions before unheard of Towards bhikkhus,
bhikkhunīs, his kinsfolk and (the other) islanders, towards
fishes, four-footed beasts and the birds he fulfilled every duty
4 He had Mahinda who had betaken himself to the opposite
shore[2], slain by agents In such wise he cleared his path of
5 all who could dispute with him the royal dignity He in-
stituted a great almsgiving for needy beggars, to bhikkhus
and brāhmaṇas (he dispensed) delicious food such as the king
6 receives He had three younger brothers Mahinda, Kassapa
7 and Udaya Of these Mahinda was the Yuvarāja who, obedient
to him, served him in fitting manner The Queen, Saṃghā
by name, was the queen-consort of the King
8 Once when the King had betaken himself for pleasure to
a port on the sea, the Ādipāda Udaya who had remained be-
9 hind in the town, took to wife the daughter of the wife of
his maternal uncle by name Nālā who was under the King's
10 protection[3], and took her with him to Pulatthinagara Without

[1] Sena I is called *Matvalasen* in the Nik s

[2] See above 49 85 86 with the notes.

[3] P *rakkhantim* is to be understood as pres part. of the passive *rakkhati* = skr *rakṣyate* The name Nālā is contained in that of the monastery Nalārāma which according to the inscription of Mahakalattera (E. MÜLLER AIC nr 110, p 77, 112) the Grand Scribe Sena (*cf* 52. 33) built in honour of his mother and named after her This Nālā however, cannot well be as WICKREMASINGHE assumes (E.Z. I 164 n 7) the daughter of Mahinda of Rohaṇa and of Devā, since Devā was not the *mātulānī* but the *pitucchā* of Udaya.

being wroth with him the King made with him an inviolable treaty, sent the Mahādipāda (Mahinda) to him, quieted him
and brought him hither again[1]. Thus the princes were again 11
at one and lived sheltering the Order (of the Buddha) and the laity, in perfect peace.

Once later came the Paṇḍu King[2] with a great force from 12
Jambudīpa and began to take possession of the Island. When 13
the King heard thereof he sent a strong army against him, but owing to the discord among the high dignitaries, the prince, the Paṇḍu king, found opportunity to get a firm
footing; he laid waste the whole of Uttaradesa (the North 14
Province) and occupied an armed camp in Mahātālitagāma.
The many Damiḷas who dwelt (scattered) here and there, went 15
over to his side. Thereby he gained great power. The great 16
army which had gathered there (in Mahātālitagāma) began war with the King; the Paṇḍu King went into the field riding
on the back of his elephant. The Damiḷa army who beheld 17
the face of its leader, was full of vigour and determination,
and ready to lay down its life for him. But the Island army 18
as its leaders were absent, was without zeal; it scattered in
fight and fled in all directions. The great army of the Paṇḍu 19
King broke in at the same moment crushing in onset the
people, like the hosts of Māra. When the King heard of the 20
dispersion of his army, he took all his valuable property, left
the town and turned towards Malaya. Thereupon the Yuvarāja, 21
Mahinda, mounted his elephant; but when he saw in battle
the flight of his army, he thought: "Alone it is impossible 22
for me to kill all these; but death at the hands of these base
people is not beautiful; therefore is death by my own hand 23
to be preferred" and sitting on the back of his elephant, he
cut his throat. When his men saw that, many of them like- 24

[1] From the standpoint of the author: to Anurādhapura.

[2] The Paṇḍus or Pāṇḍiyas were a Dravidian people inhabiting the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula. Their capital was at first Korkai, later Madhurā. Cf. V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 335 ff. For the name of the Pāṇḍiya king who invaded Ceylon, cf. H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 52.

wise cut their throats and when the Damiḷa army beheld this
25 it rejoiced with *exceeding joy*. When the Ādipāda Kassapa
surveyed all that, just at it was, he mounted his favourite
26 horse, armed, weapon in hand, and came alone as far as the
27 Abhaya-vihāra[1] Even as a supaṇṇa when it catches a snake
breaks through[2] her watery abode, so he broke through this
great army by storm He forced the whole (army) to retreat
28 and remained himself unscathed[3]. His one horse looked as if
it were a line of steeds When he saw none following him
29 he thought: "What would it avail if I alone (by my death)
were to fulfil the wish of the foe? meanwhile I shall, if I
30 remain in life, be able to fulfil my own wish. Therefore it
is right if I retreat". Therewith the great hero broke fear-
31 lessly through the great army and escaped to Koṇḍivāta. The
great army of the Paṇḍu King thereupon took the town.
32 They showed the Yuvarāja's head to the Paṇḍu King. When
he saw it he had (the corpse) burned and gave orders for the
observance at the pyre of all the ceremonies prescribed by
the Paṇḍus for their kings.

33 The Paṇḍu King took away all valuables in the treasure
house of the King and plundered what there was to plunder
34 in vihāra and town. In the Ratanapāsāda the golden image
of the Master (Buddha)[4] the two jewels which had been set

[1] Abhayagiri vihāra The pursuing enemy had thus already approached the northern gate of the town.

[2] The words *ogāhitvā viddrayi* belong to both objects *mahāsenam* and *salilālayam* In W.'s translation the simile is not rightly grasped or at least blurred For Kassapa's breaking through the hostile army the expression *o-gāh* "to dive" has been chosen with reference to the simile. The Supaṇṇas are mythical birds griffinlike They are considered the deadly enemies of the Nāgas. In this passage these are described as *bhujangā*, snake like dwellers in the sea.

[3] Lit preserved (or protected) himself well. Note in *sugopayi* the rarer association of *su* with a finite verb, as shortly before, in v 4 *suvisodhesi*.

[4] W has not understood the passage aright, nor I myself in my edition (but cf the corrections and *additions in vol II*) *It deals with* the golden image set up by Mahinda II (48 135 ff) in the Ratanapāsāda which he had built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra See also 51. 22 ff We must therefore read *Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaṇṇam satthubimbakam*

as eyes in the stone (image of the) Prince of Sages, likewise 35
the gold plates on the cetiya[1] in the Thūpārāma, and the
golden images here and there in the vihāras — all these he 36
took and made the Island of Laṅkā deprived of her valuables
leaving the splendid town in a state as if it had been plundered
by yakkhas[2].

The King (Sena) had posted guards at various places along 37
the highway and in great alarm had taken up his abode at
the confluence of the two rivers[3]. In order to make a treaty 38
with the Sīhala ruler, the Paṇḍu King now sent dignitaries
thither. When the Sīhala sovereign saw them and heard 39
their message, he agreed to everything, bestowed favours on
the ambassadors to their hearts' content, presented them with 40
a couple of elephants as well as with all his jewels and sent
messengers to the Paṇḍu King, thinking of his own advantage.
When the Paṇḍu King saw all this he was highly pleased, 41
handed over the capital on the same day to the messengers,
evacuated the town and betook himself at once to the seaport. 42
There he embarked and returned to his country.

Thereupon the Ruler Silāmegha (Sena)[4] entered the town, 43
brought the Island again to its former condition and lived in
peace. His second brother[5], the nobleman Udaya by name, 44

[1] Cf. on this 48. 140, as well as 49. 81.

[2] By *yakkha* are meant the prehistoric inhabitants of Ceylon whom Vijaya found when he migrated to the island. They were believed to have magic powers, hence the word means superhuman, demoniacal beings generally. Ethnologists consider the Väddās as remnants of these aborigines. Cf. the monograph of A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, Nr. 4. Washington 1928.

[3] The *mahāmagga* is probably the highway which led from Anurādhapura to Pulatthinagara and from here to Rohaṇa. *Malayābhimukho gato* above in v. 20 evidently gives merely the general direction in which Sena retreated. The "confluence of the two rivers" where he took up a waiting position must be the point of junction of the Mahaveliganga and Ambanganga where he commanded the two fords: Dastota (Sahassatittha) and Mahagantota (Kacchakatittha).

[4] Silāmegha is the surname of Sena. Cf. note to 44. 83.

[5] After Mahinda's death (v. 23) his brother Kassapa became heir to the throne. But as he was slain by the Paṇḍu King according to v. 46 the youngest brother of Sena I., Udaya by name, took up his position, but he died very soon so that the succession passed to Kassapa's eldest son.

he appointed mahādipāda and assigned him for his revenues
45 (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa But he, after performing meritorious works as was meet, was seized after a short time with illness and fell into the jaws of death[1]
46 The Ādipāda Kassapa while he sojourned in Pulatthinagara, was slain by the Paṇḍu King who had ordered it.
47 Now this Ādipāda Kassapa by name, had four able sons
48 endowed with the marks (of future) power Of these the first was the prince Sena by name, a hero, a man of great energy, capable of bearing the burden of the royal dignity, an eminent
49 man To him the King assigned in accordance with the custom the dignity of mahādipāda and assigned him for his revenues Dakkhiṇadesa together with the (needful) troops
50 The ruler of Rohaṇa, Kittaggabodhi, had four sons and
51 three attractive, charming daughters His eldest son, the nobleman by name Mahinda, was murdered by his father's sister who took the country with the royal treasure for her-
52 self The three brothers enraged at the murder of their brother[2] took their three sisters and betook themselves to the
53 King (Sena) When the King who greatly loved them, in deepest pity[3] beheld them, he brought them all up full of love in the best way possible as if they were royal princes[4]
54 Then the Ruler of men sent the eldest of them, Kassapa by
55 name, with forces "Take possession of thy country, go!' He

[1] According to the inscription mentioned above (note to 50 9) the marriage of Udaya with Nalā produced a son *He is there called* Mahalā Sen That is the Sena of 52 33 who under his cousin Kassapa IV., evidently at an advanced age enjoyed the dignity of Mahālekhaka. But as according to v 6 Kassapa was older than Udaya, his sons succeeded before those of Udaya

[2] The MSS point to the reading *bhātughātake* But since the word refers to a female S and B. in conjunction with one MS read *ghātane* The MS S 6 originally had this reading but it is corrected to *-ghātake*

[3] P *dayāmukho* At the end of a compound *mukha* is used in the sense of *padhāna*

[4] Not as W has it 'as if they were the offspring of the gods." The children of the house of Rohaṇa are treated as if they belonged to the family of the reigning king (*deva*)

set forth, slew her, brought the whole of Rohaṇa into his power and took up his abode there without mishap. Then 56
he fetched his two brothers Sena and Udaya, shared with them the country and dwelt with them. But King Sena 57
brought up the maidens in a most excellent way and when the three princesses were grown up, gifted and beautiful as divine nymphs, he gave the one called Saṃghā to whom he 58
assigned the rank of queen[1], to the Uparāja Sena to wife, with large revenues worthy[2] of the royal dignity. The younger 59
brother of the Uparāja, Mahinda by name, was endowed with all virtues, practised in all sciences. To him the King gave 60
the two princesses, called Tissā and Kitti, with revenues which he deemed fitting. Thus the King showed favour to his kindred 61
according to (their) deserts. By favours such as almsgiving and the like he won the people for himself. Endowed with 62
the ten qualities of kings[3], he enjoyed (while) performing meritorious works, the earth. For the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus[4] 63
he built a monastery on the Ariṭṭha mountain[5], erected as if by magic, and endowed it with large revenues. He granted 64
it also an equipment without flaw, worthy of a king, many helpers of the monastery and slaves as work people. In the 65
Jetavana-vihāra the Sovereign whose aspiration was directed to the Buddha step, erected[6] a pāsāda of several storeys. After 66

[1] It is possible to refer *ṭhapetvā rājiniṭhāne* to all three princesses. In 49. 3, we already had a case of the king granting the title of *rājinī* to princesses in the same way as that of *ādipāda* to princes. Cf. further 54. 11, as also 60. 84.

[2] The alteration of *sarikkhakaṃ* which all the MSS. have, into *parikkhakaṃ* is unnecessary. The skr. *sadṛśa* can also mean "suited to, worthy of". The context demands an adjectival attribute to *mahābhogaṃ*.

[3] See note to 37. 107. [4] Cf. above note to 47. 66.

[5] The Ritigala (see 44. 86 with note) is extremely rich in ruins. Cf. ASC. 1893 (= XXXVIII, 1904, p. 8 ff.). Then Plans and Plates for Annual Report 1893 (Colombo 1914). A. M. Hocart identifies the monastery built by Sena with the ruins of Banda Pokuna. See Memoirs ASC. I. 44.

[6] A pun in the original on *bhūmi* in its three meanings of earth, platform or step and storey. Note the Mahāyānistic idea of striving after the attainment of future Buddhahood. It occurs here for the first time in the Mahāvaṃsa.

bringing thither[1] a wholly golden image of the Victor (Buddha)
that he had had made and having fixed large revenues for the
67 pāsāda, he let bhikkhus take up their abode there. In the same
vihāra he had the splendid pāsāda in the Mahāpariveṇa re-
68 built, which had been destroyed by fire. In the Abhayuttara-
vihāra he built the Vīraṅkurārāma[2] and granted it to the
69 bhikkhus of the Mahāsaṃgha[3] and of the Thera School. The
Pubbārāma[4] also furnished with the four necessaries, he built
70 together with his royal consort Saṃghā. Likewise together
with her the discerning Monarch built in the Mahāvihāra, the
71 dwelling-house Saṃghasena[5] with large revenues. Having had
made of pure gold a reliquary for the hair relic[6] he instituted
a great sacrificial festival. The sublime (prince) dedicated to
72 it the kingly dignity. To the Cetiya mountain he assigned
the productive Kāṇavāpi tank, and to the bhikkhus dwelling
73 on the Island he had the three garments[7] distributed. In Pu-
latthinagara he built at the Thusavāpi[8] tank the Senaggabodhi
74 shrine, endowed with villages and monastery helpers, and here

[1] Thus I understand *raḍḍhetvā*. Cf. for the meaning Cūlvs. ed. II, Index of Words, s. v. *raḍḍheti*.

[2] Is mentioned in a Vessagiri inscription of King Dappula IV. (V.) Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 23 ff.

[3] For the Mahāsaṃghikā who branched off from the Theravādins (Mhvs. 5. 4. 5), at the first Council, s. M. Walleser, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, p. 24 ff.

[4] If above in 49. 28, one reads with the Col. Ed. Pubbārāma instead of Pacchārāma, which however, is contrary to the MSS., then in our passage it is only a question of rebuilding the monastery. Cf. EZ. I. 183.

[5] This is probably the *Saṅgsen-aram* mentioned in the inscription of Kassapa V. which was restored by this king together with the Maricavaṭṭi thūpa. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 41 ff.

[6] The relic was brought to Ceylon by Silākāla. See Mhvs. 39. 49 ff.

[7] See note to 41. 29.

[8] W. follows the reading *vāpiyo* of the Col. Ed. and translates accordingly "with the help of the great tank Thusavāpi *he built several* smaller tanks . . . and he also built" etc. In this case however, a *ca* in the second line of the verse would be indispensable.

beside this building[1], he built a large eating-hall where good
food was distributed, as well as for all (the bhikkhus) an
eating-hall in the Mahānettapabbata(-vihāra). He also had a 75
hall for the sick built in the west of the town and for the
destitute he made an offering of rice soup with the solid food
(belonging thereto). For the Paṃsukūlika-bhikkhus the sublime 76
(prince) built a separate kitchen and dutifully gave them per-
manent support. When he was (still) Mahādipāda he built 77
in the Kappūra-pariveṇa and in the Uttarāḷha(-pariveṇa)[2]
single cells which bore his name. Three times the wealthy 78
prince dispensed alms equal in weight to his body and yet
other meritorious works of divers kinds were performed by
the King. His royal consort, Saṃghā by name, had built 79
in the Uttara-vihāra[3] a dwelling-house called Mahindasena
and let bhikkhus take up their abode there. The charming 80
Dappulapabbata-vihāra[4] was begun in the time of the wise
King Dappula by Mahādeva, and the Kassaparājaka(-vihāra) 81
by the young prince called Kassapa — both these unfinished
(buildings) the same King (Sena) completed[5]. His Senāpati 82
Bhadda built the pariveṇa, called Bhaddasenāpati, endowed
with slaves and revenues. The dignitary Uttara built in the 83
Abhayuttara-vihāra the dwelling house, called Uttarasena,
excellently provided[6] with the (four) necessaries. In the same 84
place Vajira (by name) built the dwelling house Vajirasenaka,
and Rakkhasa (by name) built the dwelling-house, called
Rakkhasa.

[1] I supplement *tasmiṃ yeva* not with *nagare*, as does W., but with *āvāse* from 73 c to get the antithesis to *sabbesaṃ* in 74 c. The first Mahāpāli hall belonged specially to the Senaggabodhi house, the second was for general use.

[2] Of the first we know from 45. 29 that it belonged to the Abhayagiri-vihāra; the second pariveṇa is mentioned again 51. 75.

[3] I. e. Abhayuttara-vihāra = Abhayagiri-vihāra.

[4] Cf. with the verse the note to 49. 1.

[5] By Dārukassapa is probably meant the younger brother of the king whose death is announced in v. 46. W. takes it for the name of a minister. For Kassaparājaka s. note to 52. 45.

[6] Pun on the word *uttara*, occurring 4 times in the verse.

85 Thereupon after twenty years[1] the King who had ever fixed his gaze on the highest, while sojourning in Pulatthinagara, pondering over the misdeeds of the Paṇḍu King,
86 and in sense making way[2] for the hero Sena, had to leave the Island and depart as a lamp (goes out) which the storm has quenched
87 Riches are fleeting together with life, how much more so are even kindred and friends Behold the King who forsaken fell into the terrible jaws of death

Here ends the fiftieth chapter, called ‹The One King›, in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] So also Pūjav

[2] P *dadanto viya Senassa surassāvasaraṃ* He leaves to his successor the possibility and the opportunity to take vengeance on the Paṇḍus

CHAPTER LI

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

1 After Sena had thus died the Mahādipāda Sena by name performed all that there was to do[1] for him in pious manner,
2 then with army and train he entered the town and was king over the earth's circle. Showing conduct like that of the kings of
3 the first age of the world, pious, wealthy, heroic, generous, impartial, succouring the needy, equipped with large revenues,
4 with army and train, he represented in his spotless fame and his splendid ability, as it were, a union of the sun and the
5 moon: richly gifted with unblemished qualities, practising every kind of virtue, devoid of all sin, weary of the cycle of births,
6 his gaze fixed on the highest. Saṃghā who was his consort, he consecrated Mahesī and gave her a dowry according to the
7 custom. His younger brother, the able Mahinda by name, he made uparāja, assigning him (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇa-
8 desa. As however, he had committed an offence in the women's apartments, he disappeared on being discovered by the King, and betook himself with wife and child unrecognised to Malaya.

9 At that time the King's consort Saṃghā bore him a son who embodied[2], as it were, in himself the princely form

[1] Namely the prescribed funeral ceremonies. Sena II. is called in Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Mugayin-Sen. In Pūjāv. he is erroneously called brother (*mal*) of his predecessor.

[2] For Panāda or Mahāpanāda see note to 37. 62. It cannot be a question here of son of Panāda, as such does not otherwise occur, but of Panāda himself when he was prince. We must thus read *kumāra-rūpaṃ* and this belongs to *Panādassa* as well as to *attano*. For Mahāpanāda as prince see Jātaka IV, p. 323 ff. Suruci-Jātaka.

10 of Panāda When the King beheld the newly-born he was
overjoyed, as Suddhodana over Siddhattha born in the Lumbini
11 garden, (thinking) my son endowed with the qualities of
power and virtue, is worthy of the royal dignity not alone
12 in this single island but in all Jambudīpa, and already on the
day of name-giving he consecrated him uparāja[1] in the most
solemn manner and granted him (the Southern Province)
13 Dakkhiṇadesa The Yuvarāja (Mahinda) who was sojourning
in Malaya, understood by prudent conduct[2] to appease the
14 sovereign, and with his brother's consent, he came accompanied
by the bhikkhus dwelling in the three fraternities, sought
out the King, and made here at once an inviolable treaty
with him

15 The consort of the Yuvarāja[3], Tissā by name, the Queen,
16 bore a daughter, named Saṃghā, and his other consort Kitti
17 bore likewise four sons and a daughter Then the king
thought under these circumstances[4] my younger brother will
18 be reliable for me, and he took careful counsel with his
ministers and prudently married the beautiful daughter of the
19 Yuvarāja, Saṃghā by name, to his own son Kassapa Dakkhiṇadesa (the South *Province*) he granted in like manner to his
younger brother, but to the Prince (Kassapa) he made over
20 a special share of his own revenues and assigned him all the

[1] The son of Sena II was Kassapa later King Kassapa V In an inscription of Anuradhapura he expressly says of himself *dunū sanahi me yuva raj biser-siri pan ānā* who at the same time that he was born (P *jamita*) received the *consecration* as *yuvaraja* Wickremasinghe, EZ. I 42 ff As to the difference between the Cūlavs and the inscription regarding the title *uparāja* and *yuvarāja* see note to v 15

[2] P *upāyena* W cunningly

[3] As the reconciliation between Sena and Mahinda has taken place the latter regains his rights as heir apparent, Dakkhiṇadesa (v 19) being assigned him for the same reason The more formal dignity of uparaja which is generally associated with that of yuvaraja remained apparently with the son of King Sena

[4] P *evam sati* if he (the king) so acts as he intends and as he acts subsequently after holding counsel with his ministers by kinship through marriage

extraordinary revenues in the kingdom[1]. But the administra-
tion of the whole island he looked after (himself), concerned
for the welfare of the Island. In consequence of the living 21
together of the twain (Kassapa and Saṃghā) who performed
meritorious works, sons and daughters were born, endowed
with the qualities of power and virtue.

Once when the Ruler with all pomp was holding high 22
festival for the Tooth Relic, he ascended the splendid Ratana-
pāsāda and when he beheld the pedestal of the golden Buddha 23
empty whereon formerly the image stood[2], he asked why that
was so. Thereupon his councillors replied: "Knowest thou 24
not O Ruler! that in the time of the great King thy
uncle[3], O Sovereign! the Paṇḍu king came hither, ravaged this 25
Island and departed with whatever belonged to the treasures
of the Island?" When the King heard that, he was ashamed, 26
as if he himself had suffered the defeat, and gave orders the
selfsame day to his councillors to collect troops[4].

[1] According to the reading of the Col. Ed. *rajjaṃ pi sabbaṃ tass' eva paribhogāya dāpayi* one would have to translate: "also he assigned him the whole kingdom for the drawing of his income". *Rajja* might mean that part of the Island that was later called *Rājaraṭṭha* and still later *Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha*, but that would have been monstrous, since Sena would thereby have deprived himself of all rights and of nearly all his revenues. It would be difficult too to see how what is said in 19 c d could be distinguished from what is contained in v. 20 a b. The point here lies I believe, in the little word *pari* in *paribhoga*. It implies the idea of "more" of "acquisition" "addition to something" (Cf. BR., Wtb. s. v. *pari* 2 a 8), thus *paribhoga* stands in contrast to the simple *bhoga* of the preceding line.

[2] Without doubt the passage must be so translated, although the construction is not without difficulty. Cf. 50. 34 with the note.

[3] The uncle of Sena II., his predecessor Sena I. is here described as "great father" (*mahāpitā*). The elder brothers of the father are thus described, the younger brothers being called "little father" (*cūlapitā*). See note to 63. 51.

[4] The successful war of Sena II. against the Paṇḍus is mentioned in several inscriptions. The King is called *Siri Sangbo* (so in the inscr. of Bilibeva, of Etaviragolleva and Elleveva, Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 39, 44 ff.; Bell, ASC., VIIth Progress Rep. = XIII. 1896, p. 45). The four Sinhalese sources also relate the victory over the Paṇḍus and the regaining of the drum of victory and the jewelled goblet which they had captured.

27 Now at that time there arrived a son of the Paṇḍu King
who ill-treated by the king, had made the resolve to gain
28 the kingship for himself When the King (Sena) saw him he
rejoiced greatly, treated him as was meet[1], betook himself
then to the seaport Mahātittha[2] and while he sojourned there,
29 collected a great force as well as all the appliances of war
30 completely[3], like to a war-equipped army of the gods Then
the glorious (Prince) commanded his Senāpati together with
the son of the Paṇḍu King thus: "Arise, slay the Paṇḍu King,
31 bring hither all the jewels formerly carried away from here,
transfer to him the royal dignity and come hither again
32 at once". The Senāpati declared himself ready to do so, bade
farewell to the Ruler, took the army and set sail on the
33 spot He came then to the opposite coast with his whole
army and train and laying waste the neighbouring country,
34 surrounded the town of Madhurā He blockaded the gates,
cut off all traffic and set fire to towers, bastions and gates[4]
35 When thus the Sīhala army had penetrated his town, pillaging
36 the whole (town) and slaughtering the garrison, then the
Paṇḍu King at the news, collected his army, came on in haste
37 and opened fight But as his troops were not complete the
Ruler who riding on the back of an elephant was himself
38 wounded by a spear, left the town to its fate, took flight and
lost his life at the place whither he had betaken himself His
consort who had come with him also found (her) death
39 Thereupon the Sīhala army which had fearlessly entered the

[1] I e he fulfilled all the duties due to a guest of royal blood

[2] Now Mantai (Mantota) in the Mannar District

[3] P *anūnam* is adverb

[4] S *gopuraṭṭālakoṭṭhake* According to the description of the plan of an Indian fortress given in Kauṭalya s Arthasāstra 2. 3 21, *gopura* means a bastion like structure above the gates while *aṭṭāla* is a tower built on the wall Cf *aṭṭālauddāmaparikhāyuni* DhCo III 488[14] and *pākāraparikhaaṭṭālakaddini* JāCo VI 341[21], with which is meant the whole fortification of a town, also *pākāro gopuraṭṭālako* JaCo VI 433[1] *Dvāraṭṭāla* also occurs in P (Dīpavs 13 21, 22 10 and 19) JāCo VI 390[2] distinguishes this last from *antaraṭṭālaka* Thus *dvāraṭṭāla* is at most synonymous with *gopura*.

town, plundered it completely, as the gods the town of the
asuras[1]. The Senāpati thereupon inspected the treasures in 40
the royal palace; and all the valuables which had been carried
away from our island, as well as that found in the town and 41
in the country, he took for himself and carried on the administra-
tion which he had seized. Hereupon he consecrated the son of 42
the Paṇḍu King and transferred the country to him with cele-
bration of the (customary) festivities. He took elephants and 43
horses and men also, as he pleased, and stayed here and there
at his pleasure, from no side threatened. Then he betook 44
himself to the sea-coast, sojourned there so long as he chose,
embarked with unruffled calm, as if for amusement, came to 45
Mahātittha, greeted the Ruler respectfully, gave a report and
showed him the treasures he had brought along. "Good", 46
said the King, showed him favour and entered the capital
with his joyful army. He held a victory banquet and cele- 47
brated a festival of victory and instituted a great offering for
beggars according to their hearts' desire. He restored all 48
valuable property in the Island as it was heretofore, without
partiality, and the golden images he set up in the places
where they belonged. The empty pedestal (of the statue) of 49
the Master in the Ratanapāsāda he filled again[2] and he made
the country secure by setting up guards against every danger.
From that time onward he made the Island hard to subdue 50
by the foe and made it increase in wealth like the land of
the Uttarakurus[3]. Living beings on the Island who in the 51
time of the former king had been in distress, felt themselves
delivered in that they came to peace as from heat into the
shade of clouds.

[1] The Indian epics speak of three towns of the asuras. They are built by the demon Maya of gold, silver and stone, in Heaven, in the firmament and on the earth. Śiva destroys them with fire and is therefore named *tripuraghna, tripuradahana, tripurahan* etc. See BR. s. v. *tripura*; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 50.

[2] By setting up the recaptured image.

[3] A mythical people of sages and seers who live beyond the Himālaya. Their country is often held to be the land of bliss. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 186.

52 In the twentieth year of his reign, in the Abhayuttara-
vihāra the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus separated and formed special
53 groups[1] The Yuvarāja Mahinda had built for the Prince of
54 trees of the Master a beautiful, wonderful, graceful temple The
carpenters who were building the Bodhi house[2], noticed that
a branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree by striking on a beam,
55 threatened to break[3] They considered what should be done,
and informed the Yuvarāja (of the matter) He came hither,
reverenced (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering (and said)
56 "If the Master is born for the salvation of all living beings,
as one that accepts the priceless merit which lies in the buil-
57 ding of the temple[4], then let the branch bend upwards so
that it is possible to build the temple" Having thus favorably
58 influenced it and done it reverence he went home Then the
branch on the Prince of trees during the night bent upwards
59 and all the workmen made it known to their master The
Yuvarāja was highly delighted, told his brother, the King,
and reverenced (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering for
60 which he spent much money Having built the pariveṇa called
Mahindasena he made it over to the community together with

[1] See note to 47 66 Here we must keep strictly to the MSS reading *gaṇāhesum* (for which *gaṇāhesum* in some MSS is merely a frequently recurring inaccurate spelling) The alteration into *gatāhesum* of the Col Ed is poor *Gaṇa* means a group of persons closely assotiated for the pursuit of common aims a corporation here an independent branch of bhikkhus a sect Wilson Dict in Skr and Engl., gives for *gaṇa* etc also the meaning a sect in philosophy or religion Cf also *gaṇassa satthā* Saṃyutta I 66[24 31]

[2] See note to 38 43

[3] For *bhindantam* cf Cūlavs ed I p XV

[4] Here we have a *saccakiriyā* (Mhvs trsl p 125 note 3) of which the formula is as certainly as this or that is the case so certainly will this or that occur W changes the subject between 1 and 2 In line 2 he takes I" as subject and if by the building of this house I shall gain merit. That is impossible In such a case *alam* would not be absent. The idea is rather this The building of the temple is an offering a *pūjā* which the Master — *satthā* remains the subject — shall graciously accept. In it there lies at the same time great merit of course for the builder Hence the work is described as *puñña*.

the (needful) revenues and accumulated still further merit. He 61
dispensed raiment, umbrellas, shoes which had come to himself[1], further rice for wayfaring (bhikkhus)[2] and baths with
cheer. After the mighty Prince had thus carried out all kinds 62
of works of inferior merit, he passed away in the thirty-third year of the King's reign in accordance with his doing.

He being dead, the King set his younger brother Udaya 63
in his place and assigned him all that had belonged to the
other. With an offering equal to the weight of his body he 64
comforted the poor and the helpless and by a regulative act
he, at the same time, reformed the three fraternities. He had 65
a thousand jars of gold filled with pearls and on the top of
each he placed a costly jewel and presented (it) to a thousand 66
brāhmaṇas whom he had fed with milk rice in pure jewelled
goblets, as well as golden threads[3]. He clothed them also, 67
as a friend of meritorious works, with new garments at their
hearts' desire, and gladdened them with festive pomp. To the 68
bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he dispensed the three garments, and presented all the women with quite exquisite raiment. Having restored the Lohapāsāda so that it resembled 69
the Vejayanta palace[4] he brought thither[5] an image of the
Buddha of closely jointed gold mosaic[6]. When he heard that 70
the pāsāda had been an Uposatha house for all the great sages, he made it into a dwelling for the community with the
wish that it should never stand empty. He assigned it main- 71
tenance villages, placed guards and ordered that thirty-two
bhikkhus should dwell there. On the (Mahāvāluka-)gaṅgā he 72

1 Cf. with *sapaṭisaṃbhattaṃ vatthaṃ* the phrase *savatthaṃ paṭisaṃbhattaṃ* in 52. 14.

2 Vin. I. 292 has *āgantukabhatta* "rice food for newly arrived bhikhhus" and *gamikabhatta* beside *gilānabhatta.* These are the monks who are unable to live by *piṇḍapāta,* that is the almsfood collected on the regular mendicant round.

3 The idea here is of the cotton thread which, according to brahmanical rite, the three highest castes wear over the shoulder. In this case these were evidently interwoven with gold thread.

4 See note to 48. 136. 5 See note to 50. 66.

6 P. *suvaṇṇaghanakoṭṭimaṃ;* cf. DhCo. IV. 135[16]; Mhvs. 30. 97.

had the Maṇimekhala dam built and on the Maṇihīra tank he
73 built an outlet for the water. At Kaṭṭhantanagara he dammed
up the Kāṇavāpi[1] (tank) and on the Cetiya mountain he built
74 a hospital[2]. The Buddhagāma-vihāra, the Mahiyangaṇa-vihāra[3]
and the Kūṭatissa-vihāra[4] he enriched with a maintenance
75 village. To the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra[5] he made over villages
which belonged to himself and in the Uttarāḷha-pariveṇa[6] he
76 built a pāsāda. To the Mahāsena[7] Buddha he granted a vil-
lage and gave it watchmen, in the Sobbha-vihāra he built an
77 image house. He brought figures of Bodhisattas into the
Maṇimekhala-pāsāda and the ruined temple of the stone statue
78 of the Prince of Sages[8] he restored. The King united there-

[1] Here it is a case of restoring the dam, as the tank itself existed already at the time of Sena I. Cf. 50. 72.

[2] P. *vejjasālā* lit. hall of physicians. The sick there found medical assistance.

[3] Now Alutnuvara on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga in the Bintenne district. Evidently an ancient place of worship, probably already in pre-Aryan times, if the tale related in Mhvs. 1. 14–43 rests on any kind of tradition. The thūpa in Alutnuvara is held to be the oldest in the Island. The Dutchman Spilberg saw it in the year 1602 in good condition, white as marble and crowned by a gilded pyramid (See Tennent, Ceylon II. 421). This was certainly not its original form. In Tennent's time it lay in a ruinous condition, 'a huge semicircular mound of brickwork three hundred and sixty feet in circumference and still one hundred feet high, but so much decayed at the top that its original outline is no longer ascertainable'. Later the thūpa was apparently repaired in the usual way by a casing. When we visited Mahiyangaṇa it lay again in ruins. The year before the southern half had been pulled down and the relic chamber also destroyed. What it contained in the way of votive gifts, as far as I saw these, belonged to more modern times.

[4] Mentioned as Kuṭutisa and mahaveher in the pillar inscription of Mahinda IV in Polonnaruva Raja Maligāva, EZ. II, 50, the reading of the name is however not quite certain.

[5] For this see note to 46. 29.

[6] See 50. 77.

[7] This means most likely the Buddha image in the Mahāsena-vihāra. For this cf. note to 48. 8.

[8] See note to 38. 61.

with the Bodhisatta with the temple[1]. Having dammed up[2] (anew) the irrigation trench of the Prince of trees he held a great festival. He had the whole of the Ratanasutta[3] written 79
down upon a golden plate and held for it a great sacrificial festival. He had the Abhidhamma recited. The image of 80
Ānanda[4] he brought into the town, walked round it facing to the right[5] and made the community of the bhikkhus recite the Paritta[6] in the usual way. By sprinkling with the Paritta 81
water the King charmed people against illness and so removed the danger of plague from his country. After receiving the 82
consecration at the Hemavāluka-cetiya[7] he decreed in writing that this action should be performed every year. On the four 83
Uposatha days in the month he dispensed to four thousand (persons) a gift of garments and rice food to boot. The Ve- 84
sākha festival he celebrated[8] in common with the poor, giving them food and drink and clothing as they desired. For the 85

[1] The passage is not clear. It seems to deal with the affiliation of the Maṇimekhalapāsāda to the shrine of the Silāmayabuddha. It is curious that in v. 77 Bodhisattas are mentioned, whereas in v. 78 only one Bodhisatta is spoken of. According to an inscription in Jetavana the Miṇimevulā-maha-pahā was built by the grandfather of Mahinda IV. (EZ. I. 214).

[2] Such a trench had already been dug by Mahānāga according to 41. 94.

[3] Sutta I in the Cūlavagga of the Suttanipāta (v. 222 ff.) This Sutta exists also in "Sanskrit" in the Mahāvastu (ed. Senart I. 290 ff.).

[4] Ānanda was the Buddha's favourite disciple and his constant companion. What portrait of him is meant, and where it used to be formerly we do not know.

[5] W. translates: "and carried it in procession round about the city". But it is impossible to get this meaning out of *katvā padakkhiṇaṃ*.

[6] See note to 46. 5.

[7] The same as the Mahāthūpa (in Anurādhapura), now Ruvanväli Dāgoba.

[8] Tradition places the parinibbāna of the Buddha on the day of full moon of Vesākha (April-May). See Mhvs. 3. 2; Fleet, JRAS. 1909, p. 6 ff. The Vesākhapūjā is often mentioned in the Mhvs., thus 32. 35, 35. 100. It was a favourite day for specially solemn actions such as the crowning of King Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs. 11. 42), the laying of the foundation stone of the Mahāthūpa (Mhvs. 29. 1) etc.

bhikkhu community of the Island he instituted a permanent offering and the poor, travellers and beggars he comforted by
86 gifts The Mahesī of the King, Samghā by name, built in the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) the building called Samghasena-
87 pabbata[1] together with the (necessary) revenues She placed a dark blue jewel diadem on the stone image of the Prince of Sages and instituted at great cost a sacrificial festival
88 for the Master (Buddha) His Senāpati, the hero Kuṭṭhaka[2] by name, built the pariveṇa called Senasenāpati with great
89 revenues Thus the glorious (prince) with his court performed many meritorious works and entered in the thirty-fifth year of his reign[3] into the world of the gods
90 Thereupon his next youngest brother, the nobleman Udaya[4] by name, became king, concerned in every way for the wel-

[1] Different from the Samghasenarāma named 50 70 (see note here) which belonged to the Mahāvihāra Cf also note to 52 45

[2] Here again inscriptions offer a valuable confirmation of our Chronicle The Senevirad Kuṭṭhā = Senāpati Kuṭṭhaka and the Senevirad Pirivena = Senasenāpati pariveṇa are mentioned in the Rambeva inscription as well as in the Iripinniyeva inscription (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ I 164, 175) In my edition I have given the name of the Senāpati in the form Tuṭṭhaka, as all my MSS read thus Now however, I am more inclined to regard the difference as being due, less to varying tradition, than to a slip of the pen, as BELL has already done, ASC. VII th Progress Rep 1891 = XIII 1896 p 59 n 2 Cf Errata et Corrigenda Cūlavs ed II We may thus change *Tutthakandmako* into *Kutthakandmako* which is also the reading according to WICKREMASINGHE, of a MS *in the Indian Institute at Oxford*

[3] Pūjav 85 years, also Rājāv

[4] Without doubt the inscriptions of Iripinniyeva and Rambeva (*EZ.* I 163 ff 172 ff) belong to this king, Udaya II (as I have, otherwise Udaya I) In these the king calls himself Salamevan = Silāmeghavaṇṇa, which would not fit Kassapa IV., as his biruda was Sirisamghabodhi The king in the Kirigalleva and Noccipotana inscriptions (EZ. II 1 ff 5 ff) of the 2nd and 9th years of his reign has the same name He is mentioned as a brother of Kassapa (IV) in the Moragoda and the Timbiriveva inscriptions See note to 52 1 The Negama inscr (EZ. II 14 ff) dates from the time before Udaya's (II) ascent of the throne as he still calls himself there Udā Mahāpā i e Udaya Mahādipāda. This Udā Mahāpā cannot be Udaya III who reigned later (Udā

fare of the islanders. While himself king, he raised his 91
youngest brother Kassapa to the rank of Mahādipāda. The 92
King considered that one should show favour to his kindred
and gave his brother's son (likewise) called Kassapa, the 93
daughter of the Yuvarāja (Kassapa), Senā by name, to wife.
The King himself took the other (daughter) called Tissā[1].

The son of the (former) Uparāja, Mahinda, and of the 94
princess Kitti, the Ādipāda Kittaggabodhi, the deluded one,
rebelled against the great King, escaped by night and came 95
alone in undiscovered disguise to Rohaṇa. He brought all the 96
people into his power, laid waste the whole province and had his
maternal uncle[2] who dwelt there murdered. When the Monarch 97
heard this he was filled with rage and sought a means of
bringing him hither. He summoned the son of his brother, 98
the Yuvarāja Kassapa[3], and spake to him thus: "Most ex-
cellent One, thou must be my helper". Said the other: "What 99
shall I do?" The Ruler replied: "Thy son, the powerful
Mahinda, has become a man. He has from his father and 100
his mother a claim on the province of Rohaṇa[4]. He is brave,

Mahayā, note to 53. 13), because apart from palaeographical reasons, the reigning king in the Negama inscr. has the biruda Sirisanghbo. This fits Sena II. whose yuvarāja was Udaya II. but not Dappula IV. Silāmeghavaṇṇa the predecessor of Udaya III.

[1] The Mahādipāda or Yuvarāja Kassapa is the king who reigns later as Kassapa IV.; the son of Udaya's brother (Sena II.) is the later Kassapa V.

[2] The brothers of Kitti, the mother of Kittaggabodhi, were according to 50. 50 ff. Kassapa, Sena and Udaya. It is the first of these probably who is meant here.

[3] With the reading *yuvarājassa* which is accepted in the Col. Ed. nothing can be done. We must decide therefore for the reading *yuvarājaṃ sa*. Still the designation of the brother's son (*bhātuputta*) of Udaya II. as yuvarāja is curious. In the verse 93 not this Kassapa is called yuvarāja, but on the contrary, the youngest brother of the King, who is likewise called Kassapa. Nevertheless according to the Sinhalese law of succession, the nephew Kassapa was heir to the throne after the brother, and probably for that reason he is here, in anticipation, called yuvarāja.

[4] On the father's side, because Mahinda's father Kassapa (later Kassapa V.) was the son of Saṃghā, the daughter of the Rohaṇa prince Kittaggabodhi, and on the mother's side because his mother, the younger Saṃghā, was a daughter of Tissā and thus granddaughter of the same Aggabodhi.

able, a hero, adroit, skilful in the management of the bow,
101 warlike, discerning, prudent and experienced in statecraft. We
will send him to bring the villain hither who slew his uncle."
102 When Kassapa heard the King's words he spake full of reverence:
"O King, summoned by the King, I would myself
103 go, how much more so my son. My line is safe and thy good
graces[1], O Monarch; do therefore, that time be not lost, what
104 thou desirest." When the Ruler of men heard his words he
rejoiced greatly, had a great force completely equipped and
105 gave orders to the general Vajiragga[2] to take the young
106 *prince* Mahinda with *great* care *under his protection*. Having
thereby made the town empty as it were, he gave the whole
army and train with all the appliances of war to Mahinda.
107 The Ruler of men himself accompanied him on foot and enjoined
him: "O excellent One, go hence and defend the king-
108 dom." Mahinda shone glorious as great Indra[3] when he set
forth at the head of the army of the gods for the great battle
109 between gods and demons. He arose and speedily came to
Guttasāla[4]. All the inhabitants, the chiefs of districts, as well
110 as those of the provinces who had been oppressed by the
murderer of his uncle, came hither and joined him thinking:
111 our (lawful) lord has arrived. The rebel who was in Giri-

[1] The sense is: so long as I enjoy thy favour the continuance of my family is assured. Therefore I shall always fulfil thy desires.

[2] A descendant of a Mekāppar Vadārum Vijuragu is mentioned in the Buddhannehela inscription. As this inscription (see WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I 191 ff.) belongs in all probability to the time of Kassapa V., the Vijuragu named there may well be our Vajiragga. In the same inscription there is mention of a Viduragu and in the Moragoda inscription of Kassapa V. of a Vadurā in the same connection, possibly variants of the same name. BELL, ASC., VIIth Progress Rep. (= XIII 1896), p. 60.

[3] Punning comparison of the name Mahinda with Mahinda, Skr. *Mahendra* "the great Indra".

[4] Now Buttala in the Korale of the same name in the Badulla District, Province Uva. Guttasāla or bāla is already mentioned at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The importance of Guttasāla was due to its *lying on a main road which led from* Mahāgāma *to* Mahiyaṅgaṇa and from there along the Mahāvālukagaṅgā to Pulatthinagara. The older form for the name Buttala is *Guttala*. It occurs for instance in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa (*ed. W. DHAMMARATANA, 1889, p. 133*).

maṇḍala[1], lost courage; he seized all valuable royal property 112
and withdrew with elephants and steeds to Malaya. Mahinda's
army defeated his army at different places pursued it on foot, 113
and when it caught sight of the elephants and the horses,
seized them before Malaya, and convinced that he was there, 114
entered Malaya, hewing down the whole wilderness of forest
of Malaya and making rivers and tanks (look) like roads.
When the fool saw the people (advance), he overcome by fury, 115
flung all his treasures into rivers, bogs, chasms and the like
and hid himself alone in the forest in a rock cave. People who 116
sought him found the ruthless one and captured him. Full of
joy the people took him with them, came with haste and show- 117
ed him to Mahinda who had halted in Guttasāla. When the latter 118
saw him he asked him laughing: "Well hast thou enjoyed
Rohaṇa?" and gave him in charge to Vajiragga the King's
general. He himself took the army and betook himself to 119
Mahāgāma[2]. He became ruler of Rohaṇa, showing kindness
to the people. He saw to it that the people who had been 120
oppressed by the fool recovered, and he restored the Buddha
Order which had been injured by him, to the place (befitting
it). He laid out gardens of fruit and flowers at divers places, 121
enclosed tanks and dammed up the Mahānadī[3]. Everywhere 122
he brought the four necessaries within reach of the (bhikkhu)
community. By keeping down the evil-minded district chiefs and
the chiefs of the provinces, and by rooting out the rebels and 123
making (the country) free from briers, he made the whole people
content, exercising generosity and giving himself up to enjoy-
ment. As one who must be honoured by prudent men and served 124
by those who wish for their own advantage, he was like to a
wishing tree[4], a dispenser of blessings for all the needy. He 125

[1] Corresponds perhaps to the modern Kandapalla-Korale embracing the hill country to the west of Buttala, south of the Koslanda-Haldumulla road.

[2] At that time the capital of Rohaṇa. Cf. note to 45. 42.

[3] Perhaps name of the Menik-ganga?

[4] P. *kapparukkha* = skr. *kalpavṛkṣa*. For the Indian tales about heavenly trees which fulfil wishes and offer mankind all that it needs and desires, see Hopkins, Epic Mythology, 7.

abandoned the evil conduct practised by former rulers, and took
up his abode there, cherishing justice.
126 The General (Vajiragga) took the Ādipāda (Kittaggabodhi)
with him and betook himself to Anurādhapura and showed
127 him to the King. When the King saw him he was furious,
had him at once thrown into prison, appointed a secure guard
128 for him and ill-used him in all kinds of ways. Three times
he the glorious one gave an offering (of rice) equal to his
body weight and he had the thūpa in the Thūpārāma covered
129 with golden plates. There too he built a pāsāda and caused a
bhikkhu community to dwell there. In vihāra and town he
130 restored what was ruined. On the Kadamba-river[1] he provided
an overflow of water with a strong weir, and he enlarged
131 the dam of the Mayettī-tank. There too the Monarch built
an overflow of water and every year[2] he had distributed
beautiful, specially fine stuffs for (the making of) the robes.
132 During a famine he had alms-halls built for all living beings
and instituted a great alms-giving; he also enlarged the Mahā-
133 pāli(-hall). Amongst the inmates of the three fraternities
he had rice with sour milk distributed, as well as rice
continuously for the destitute and rice soup with solid food.
134 Having thus performed these and other meritorious works
which lead to Heaven, he entered after reigning eleven years[3],
135 into the company of the gods. The gold that he had spent in
these eleven years was estimated at thirteen hundred thousand
(kahāpaṇas).
136 Thus after these two Rulers of men had brought into their
power the one the formidable Paṇḍu King, the other Rohaṇa
with its terrible wildernesses, they themselves fell into the
power of death.

Here ends the fifty-first chapter, called "The History of the Two Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] See note to 41. 61.

[2] *Anuvassaṃ* belongs to *dāpayi*, not to *akā* as W. has it.

[3] The same number of years in Pūjāv. In Rājāv. on the other hand, 40 years. Both sources, as well as Rājaratn. ascribe to King Udaya the building of the Mahatumburuppē vihāra in Rohaṇa. Udaya II. is mentioned under the name of Udā Abhay in the Moragoda inscription where he is credited with having subdued Rohaṇa and Malaya. Bell, ASC. VIIth Progress Rep 1891 (= XIII. 1896), p 60 ff. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 200 ff. See also note to 51 90.

CHAPTER LII

THE TWO KINGS

Thereupon Kassapa[1] took over the government and assigned to the discerning Yuvarāja called Kassapa[2] (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa. The consecration as chief 1
queen[3] he conferred on the daughter of the Yuvarāja, the princess Tissā who was his consort. For mendicant artists[4] 2
who came from different regions the King dispensed permanently an offering which was called Daṇḍissara. 3

The Ādipāda Mahinda who sojourned at that time in Rohaṇa, advanced with forces to seize the Royal Province[5]. At 4
the tidings thereof the indignant King sent his own army 5
against him, but Mahinda, a great warrior, defeated it in battle. Thereupon the King to prevail upon him to turn back, 6

[1] Several inscriptions date from the time of Kassapa IV. as for instance, the Moragoda inscription just mentioned (note to 51. [illegible] where Kasub Sirisangbo is described as brother (sahovur) of [illegible] (= Udaya II.) Also in the inscription of Timbiriveva (EZ. [illegible]. In the inscription of the Kiribat-vehera (EZ. I. 153 ff.) the King calls himself merely Sirisangbo, as also in the Mahakalattewa, Kongolleva and Inginimitiya inscriptions (E. Müller, AIC. nr. 110, 112, 118), also in the Negama inscr. (EZ. II. 14 ff.), in that of Kukurumahandamana (ib. II. 21 ff. as also in that of Alutvewa which Wickremasinghe (ib. II. 280) ascribes for palaeographic reasons to Kassapa IV.

[2] The son of Sena II. See note to 51. 93.

[3] P. *aggābhiseka* means the same as *abhiseka* as *aggamahesī*.

[4] *Yācakānaṃ sippīnaṃ* belong together, the first being in apposition to the last, *ca* joins the sentence with the preceding one. Cf. 58. 80; 60. 22.

[5] P. *rājino raṭṭhaṃ*. Here for the first time the name *Rājaraṭṭha* occurs in a less conventional form. It means in the sequel northern Ceylon with Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara as capitals as distinguished from Rohaṇa and from Dakkhiṇadesa, the province of the Yuvarāja.

7 sent forth his father, the Yuvarāja Kassapa. The latter betook himself to his son, made all kinds of prudent remonstrances accompanied by various instructive tales, induced the
8 son to give up the fight and then returned. But later the Ādipāda (Mahinda) had (several) chiefs of districts executed, and when he saw that the people rose in rebellion, he approach-
9 ed the capital The bhikkhu community brought him to the King and presented him to him. The King gave him his daughter to wife and sent him back to Rohaṇa.
10 When the King had expelled those bhikkhus in the three fraternities whose discipline was bad, he let new bhikkhus
11 take up their abode here and there. Through his nephew[1] who was born of the twice consecrated queen[2] he had amid celebration of a sacrifice the soil about the Bodhi
12 Tree in the Mahāvihāra increased. In the three fraternities he put up three stone images, thereto boards of gold
13 with rays and umbrellas, as well as diadems jewels[3]. Having built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra a pāsāda with his name[4], he

[1] P *sūnunā*. The brother's son is called "son", just as the father's *brother is called "father"*. *See note to 51. 24*

[2] The title p *dvayābhisekajāta* or *dvayābhisekasamjāta* (v 37) is applied to Kassapa (afterwards K. V.), the son of Sena II. by Saṃghā, a daughter of Kittagabodhi (1) and of Devā. Kassapa V. has the same title in the Sinhalese form *del iserājā* in an inscription of Anurādhapura (Wickremasinghe EZ. I. 50, note 17), as well as in the Mediriginiya inscr (EZ II 30: *debiserhudā*) and in that of Bilibeva (EZ II. 41 *debiserdda*). According to W (Mhvs. trsl., p. 78, n. 1l) the epithet *debisarajā* also occours in the signature to the Dampiyā aṭuvā gāṭapada.

[3] The passage is certainly difficult, but the emendations *of the* Col Ed. are much too arbitrary. In the first place *tīṇi bimbe silāmaye* is quite unobjectionable We have in the same way Mhvs. 41 58 *pīṭake tīṇi*. Even *ramsiphalaka* needs no alteration. We have merely to realise that behind the images, as one often sees in the case of bronze statuettes, boards were fastened on which the rays emanating from the Buddha (the mandorla) were painted *Suraṇṇaye* is more difficult to place It probably belongs to the *following dvandva-compound and is* put in the plural because one is dealing here with two different objects.. Perhaps one should read *tathā* rather than *tadā*.

[4] Wickremasinghe (EZ. I 216) identifies with this the Kasubvad mahapahā mentioned in an inscr. of Mahinda IV. in the Jetavanārāma.

made bhikkhus dwell there and assigned them a village. To 14
the cetiya in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra[1] he granted a village:
and to all the bhikkhus he distributed his own garments as
they had come to him[2]. To all creatures on land and water 15
he granted safety and observed in all respects the conduct of
the ancient kings. His Senāpati, Sena Ilaṅga, who was of 16
royal lineage, built for the bhikkhus of the Thera School a
dwelling in the west of the Thūpārāma. For the Dhamma- 17
rucika bhikkhus he founded the Dhammārāma and for the
Sāgalikas[3] the (monastery) called Kassapasena[4]. On the Cetiya 18
mountain he built the pariveṇa called Hadayuṇha and made
it over to the Dhammarucika bhikkhus. For grove-dwelling 19
bhikkhus[5] the General built in the groves here a hut and
there a hut and gave them to them. On the Rattamāla moun- 20
tain he built a pleasing, agreeable, charming hut and handed
it over to the ascetics, the Masters of the Order[6]. In the 21
Mahāvihāra he had the splendid pariveṇa called Samuddagiri
built and made it over to the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus[7]. Having 22
made a dwelling in the wilderness[8] called after his family, he
granted it to the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra who dwelt in
the forests. In ruined vihāras he had renovations undertaken 23
and to all bhikkhus he gave patches for their worn out gar-

[1] See note to 51. 74.

[2] See 51. 61 with note.

[3] The two sects are also mentioned together in 39. 41.

[4] Mentioned as Kasub-senevirad-pirivena in the Bilibeva inscr. of Kassapa V. (EZ. II. 40).

[5] The *ārāmikā bhikkhavo* must not be confounded with the monastery servants which are called *ārāmikā* (see note to 37. 63). The term coincides with *āraññakā bhikkhavo* or is at any rate closely allied to it. Cf. 52. 22 and 64.

[6] P. *sāsanassa sāmikānaṃ* reminds one of the honorific title *vathimiyā* occurring not infrequently in inscriptions. (cf. EZ. I. 33, l. 12; 48, l. 29 etc.) or *bik-sang-h.* (EZ. I. 91, l. 13; 92, l. 17 etc.) or merely *himiyā* (EZ. I. 94, B, l. 1).

[7] See note 47. 66.

[8] By *arañña* is meant the *tapovana* (see 53. 14 ff.), the forest district to the west of Anurādhapura in which the group of the so-called Western Monasteries lies. On these ruins see A. M. Hocart, ASC. Mem. I. 18 ff.

24 ments. The Tissārāma[1] he built as a home for bhikkhunīs and
entrusted these with the care of the sacred Bodhi Tree in the
25 Maricavatṭi(-vihāra) In Anurādhapura and also in Pulatthinagara he had hospitals built for combating the upasagga disease[2].
26 To the dwellings that he had built (for priests[3]) he granted
maintenance villages and villages which were bound to provide
helpers for the monastery[4], and ornaments for the images
27 He built houses where medicine was to be had in different
parts of the town and to the mothers of the Paṃsukūlika
28 (-bhikkhus) he dispensed rice and clothing. Many quadrupeds
were freed by the Senāpati from their captivity, and to the
29 poor he had large offerings dispensed. Having brought together
spices, rice, broth, and all kinds of solid nourishment, he
30 distributed sugar to the bhikkhus in the form of pigs[5]. In
performing these and other meritorious works Sena, the general of the army, illumined the land with the moonlight beams
31 of his glory A kinsman of his, the general Rukkha by name[6],
built in the village of Savāraka a very charming vihāra and
32 handed it over to the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, laying down
as the best (requisite) for the attainment of the degrees
33 of salvation the strictest fulfilment of duty[7]. The Grand

[1] Mentioned in the Ayitigeveva inscription of Kassapa V (EZ. II 34)

[2] Cf also 52 77 What disease was meant by *upasagga* is impossible to determine According to Jolly, Medizin, p 48, 87, the Skr. word *upasarga* means "sequelae" or "complication" According to BR. it denotes "possession" Perhaps *upasagga* is just any kind of epidemic, as "influenza" with us

[3] W connects *attanā kārāvāsānam* with the *vejjasālā* mentioned in the preceding verse and translates "to these buildings" That this is wrong is proved by the mention of the helpers of the monastery and of the images

[4] P *ārāmikagāme* See note to 37. 63.

[5] It will be as well on the whole to keep to the reading of the MSS *sūkararūpam* *Gula* always means sugar kneaded into a shape We have to do here with some kind of form (cf our sugarloaf) which may have had very little likeness to a pig

[6] I see no reason for altering the traditional MS rendering *rukkha sarhayam* into *rakkhasarhayam* Rukkha reminds one of the Skr *rukṣa* meaning "rough"

[7] A difficult passage I take *sāra* in a concrete sense, meaning "the essential the highest, here in the plural the various stages on the

Scribe[1], Sena by name, built in the Mahāvihāra the Mahālekhakapabbata house, an excellent abode for the bhikkhus.
34 A minister of the King called Coḷarāja, repaired the charming pariveṇa that had been destroyed, so that it had again solidity.
35 In the three fraternities the King (himself) had maṇḍapas built, resembling Vejayanta, painted in different colours, in a fashion (rendered) charming by figure ornaments. And after
36 he had instituted relic festivals to the delight of the people he passed away in accordance with his deeds after a reign lasting seventeen years[2].

37 Hereupon the Yuvarāja, Kassapa[3] born of the twice consecrated queen[4], attained the royal consecration in the kingdom of Laṅkā to which he came in order of succession.
38 He was pious, had reached the path of salvation, wise as one who possesses supernatural powers[5], eloquent as the teacher

road to salvation. For the combination *sāraṇaṃ paṭipatti* cf. *paṭipattisāro* JaCo. I. 418[7]. *Sādhu* "the good, the right, the best" is the predicative object of *ṭhapetvā*. It was evidently Rukkha's intention that the vihāra built by him should serve as a *padhānaghara* (note to 37. 232). W.'s translation is too general and vague. The word "daily" inserted by him is not in the text.

[1] He is mentioned as *Mahalā Sen* (= *Seno mahālekho*) in the Mahakalatteva inscr. in which the building of the Nālārāma is ascribed to him. See note to 50. 9.

[2] Pūjāv. the same. Rājāv. does not mention Kassapa IV., the only Kassapa mentioned there is Kassapa V.

[3] There is an excellently preserved inscription belonging to this king in Anurādhapura (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 42 ff.) which confirms a number of statements made by the Mahāvaṃsa. The Medirigiriya and the Budannehela inscriptions of the same king are dated in the 3rd year of his reign, that of Ayitigeveva in the 5th year and that of Bilibeva in the 7th year (EZ. II. 27, 35, 39). In all inscriptions he has the name Abhā Salamevan = Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa. For the literary work ascribed to king Kassapa V. cf. H. W. Codrington, H. C., p. 38.

[4] Cf. note to 52. 11.

[5] P. *sābhiñño*. The five *abhiññā* are: 1) magic power, 2) the heavenly ear, 3) knowledge of the thoughts of others, 4) the memory of former births, 5) the heavenly eye. They are often described in the canonical works. (Cf. amongst others, SN. trsl. by Geiger, II. 165 ff.). Heiler, Die buddhistische Versenkung, p. 26 ff.

39 of the gods (Bṛhaspati), generous as the dispenser of treasure
(Kubera), deeply learned, a preacher of the true doctrine,
practised in all the arts, adroit in proving what is right and
40 what is not right, versed in statecraft, immovable as the pillar
of a gate, standing firmly in the teaching of the Leader on
the path to delivrance, not to be shaken by all the storms of
41 other opinions, keeping himself free from all evil such as guile,
hypocrisy, pride, a mine of virtues as the ocean (is one) of
42 all jewels. The King who was a moon for the earth, granted
to the Ādipāda Dappula[1], a scion of his house, the rank of
43 yuvarāja. Carrying on the government with the ten (royal)
virtues and with the five means of winning hearts, he pro-
44 tected the world as an only (son)[2] of his own. He reformed
the whole Order of the Master by regulative acts, took in
young bhikkhus and thus provided for the filling of the
45 dwellings. The Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi,
which had been destroyed, he restored[3], adorned with various
46 dwellings, made it over at the celebration of a festival to the
bhikkhus sprung from the Thera School and granted them,
who were five hundred[4] (in number), maintenance villages.
47 There the Ruler of Laṅkā revealed, as it were, to the world
that Master of the worlds Metteya who in the delectable Tu-
sita Heaven, at the head of the assembly of the gods, preaches

[1] See below note to 53. 1.

[2] P. *ekaṃ va attano*, thus all the MSS. The Col. Ed. alters the text arbitrarily into *puttaṃ va attano*. But the text gives perfectly good sense, as a comparison with 54. 6 shows. *Ekaṃ* must be supplemented by *puttaṃ*. See also notes to 37. 107 and 108.

[3] The restoration of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra by Kassapa V. is also mentioned in the inscription at Anurādhapura (l. 6) cited above (note to v. 37). Along with Mirisaviṭi Saṅgsen aram and Kasubraj-vehera are also mentioned there. The former was built, according to 51. 86, by the mother of the King, the latter according to 50. 81, was finished by Sena I. There is no contradiction between the Cūlavaṃsa and the inscription. As the association with the Maricavaṭṭi shows, it was a case of renovation with the latter. Wickremasinghe also translates the verb *karay* (ger.) by "(re)built".

[4] *Tesaṃ* is not as W. thinks (to five hundred of them) gen. part., but obj. to *dāpayi* and *pañcasatānaṃ* attrib. to *tesaṃ*.

the glorious doctrine of the truth, in that he himself in the 48
perfectly equipped vihāra, sitting in a maṇḍapa decorated with
all kinds of jewels, surrounded by all the bhikkhus[1] of the 49
town, recited the Abhidhamma with the grace of a Buddha.
He had the Abhidhamma-piṭaka written on tablets of gold, the 50
book Dhammasaṅgaṇī[2], adorned with all kinds of jewels, and
having built a splendid temple in the midst of the town he 51
placed the book in it and caused festival processions to be held for
it. The position of Sakkasenāpati he granted to his own son[3] and 52
entrusted him with the care of this sacred book[4]. Every year 53
the King had the town festively decorated as the town of the
gods, and surrounded by his decked-out army, resplendent as 54
the King of the gods in all his royal robes, riding on the
back of his elephant, he marched through the streets of the
town and brought with great pomp (that book containing) the 55
summary of the true doctrine to the vihāra built by himself,
delectable, perfectly equipped. There, in the relic temple, 56
under a graceful jewel-studded maṇḍapa, he placed it on the
relic cushion and held a sacrificial festival. He restored the 57
Ganthākara-pariveṇa[5] in the Mahāmeghavana, built a hospital
in the town and assigned it villages. In the Abhayagiri(-vi- 58
hāra) he built the Bhaṇḍikā-pariveṇa[6] and the Silāmegha-

[1] I regard *nāgarehi* not as subst. with W., but as adjective attribute to *bhikkhūhi*. The *ca* joins *nisinno* with *parivārito*.

[2] See notes to 37. 225 and 44. 109. I believe that *dhammasaṃgaṇikaṃ potthaṃ* is in apposition to *abhidhammapiṭakaṃ*.

[3] Unfortunately we do not learn the name of this son. It cannot however, be the Mahinda mentioned 51. 99 ff., as this M. was apparently a son of Saṃghā, not of Devā. (Cf. v. 64 and note to 54. 48.)

[4] P. *dhammapotthaka* "a work belonging to the dhamma", the collection of the sacred books.

[5] The Ganthākara-vihāra is already mentioned in 37. 243 as the place of Buddhaghosa's sojourn. It belonged to the Mahāvihāra which was situated in the grove called Mahāmeghavana. We must assume therefore, that *akā* in our verse is used in a double sense: "restored" and "built", or we must translate *Ganthākara-pariveṇa* by "a pariveṇa belonging to the Ganthākara (vihāra)".

[6] Evidently called so in honour of his mother Saṃghā who has the name of *Saṅg Baṇḍay* in the Anurādhapura inscription (l. 3). EZ. I. 23, n. 6.

59 pabbata[1] and granted them villages In the vihāra of the
Jotivana the King, the Sovereign of Lankā, granted to the
eating-house a village, and the same to the one in the Abhaya-
60 giri[2] To the vihāra called Dakkhiṇāgiri[3] the King who was
filled with the deepest piety, granted out of gratitude a vil-
61 lage The Sakkasenāpati[4] had a graceful pariveṇa that received
his name, built in a charming fashion and handed it over to-
gether with villages to the adherents of the Thera School
62 His wife Vajirā handed over to the same (bhikkhus) a pari-
veṇa bearing her name which she had built, together with a
63 village Further she had a home built in Padalañchana[5]
and granted it to the bhikkhunīs of the universally reverenced
64 Thera School Devā, the mother of the Sakkasenāpati, built
for the bhikkhus who lived in the wilderness[6] and who were
the light of the Thera stock, a dwelling which received her
65 name Further she made for the image of the Master in the
Maricavaṭṭi a diadem jewel, a net of rays[7], an umbrella and
a garment
66 On the king's demesne the King built a royal dwelling
named after himself, (and) the delightful pāsāda bearing the
67 name of Pālika[8] Another consort of the King, called Rājinī,
honoured the Hemamālika-cetiya by the dedication of a co-
68 vering of cloth[9] She had a son by name Siddhattha who

[1] Again confirmed by the Anuradhapura inscr., 1 13 (Salameyvan pavu) The word *pabbata* mountain often appears at the end of the names of monastery buildings

[2] The vihāra of the Jotivana (see note to 37 65) is again the Jetavana vihāra situated in the Jotivana This is shown also by the combination with the Abhayagiri.

[3] See note to 38 50 also 42 27

[4] The son of the King according to v 52 [5] *Cf* 54 44

[6] P *araññakabhikkhunaṃ* See notes to 52 19 and 22

[7] For *cūḷāmaṇi* and *pādajāla* see note to 38. 64

[8] The wording of the text makes it likely that v 66 deals only with one building This was called therefore either Kassapapālika or originally Kassapavasa and later at the time of the author of the passage Pālikapāsāda.

[9] See note to 44 44 Hemamalika or Ratanavāloka (now Ruvanväli) is the name for the Mahathūpa in Anurādhapura.

being placed over the government here[1], was known by the
title of Malayarāja; he was beauteous as the God of Love.
After his death the King built a splendid hall for the bhikkhus 69
and instituted an offering of alms, transferring to him the
merit[2] thereof.

While thus the Sovereign of Laṅkā held sway in justice, 70
the Paṇḍu King was vanquished in battle by the Coḷa King.
To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The King, the 71
Ruler of Laṅkā, took counsel with his officials, equipped mili- 72
tary forces, appointed his Sakkasenāpati as leader of the troops
and betook himself to Mahātittha. Standing at the edge of 73
the coast he spake of the triumph of former kings and having
thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark.
With his army the Sakkasenāpati thereupon safely crossed 74
the sea and reached the Paṇḍu country. When the Paṇḍu 75
King saw the troops and him he spake full of cheer: "I will join
all Jambudīpa under one umbrella". The King took the two 76
armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the King) of the
Coḷa line, he gave up the fight and retired. The Sakkasenā- 77
pati set forth once more, with the purpose of fighting further,
made halt, and died of the upasagga plague[3] to the undoing
of the Paṇḍu (king). When the Ruler of Laṅkā heard that 78
the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity
he had the army brought back[4]. He then granted the position 79
of Sakkasenāpati to the son of the dead (man). He honoured

[1] I. e. over the government of the Malaya province.

[2] P. *pattiṃ*. For this term see note to 42. 50.

[3] See note to 52. 25.

[4] Therefore the campaign was unsuccessful. The Coḷaking who vanquished in battle the Pāṇḍya king, was no doubt Parāntaka I. who ascended the throne in A. D. 907. In the Udayēndiram plates he actually boasts of having defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṃha and of having routed an army of the king of Ceylon. This inscription is dated in the 15th year of Parāntaka's reign (= 921-2). In another inscription of his 12th year, noticed by R. B. Venkayya, the king "refers incidentally to an invasion of the Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon". See Hultzsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 525 f.; H. W. Codrington, H. C. p. 38, 52.

80 the latter by making his son leader of the army[1] By the inmates of the three fraternities he had a Paritta ceremony[2] observed in the town and thus warded off from
81 his people the danger of plague and bad harvest Having thus secured for the Order and for his people by all manner of means peace, the King in the tenth year (of his reign)[3] entered happily into Heaven

82 Even as this ruler of kings, Kassapa, who so long as he held sway in Lankā, was a reader of the Tipiṭaka, a light of all knowledge, a ready speaker, a monarch among poets, a shining light in presence of mind and determination, a teacher, a saviour, gifted with wisdom, faith and pity, rejoicing in the *welfare of others, wise in knowledge of the world, loyal (to* his people) — even thus, rich in spotless virtue, should the whole world be

Here ends the fifty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] W translates the passage thus 'And then he gave the office of Sakkasenāpati to his (the late general s) son and made him the chief of the army and brought him up in the father s name

[2] *On paritta see note to 46 5*

[3] *According to* Pūjāv and Rajāv (here only one Kassapa is named) the *king reigned six years* Both sources relate that under him the Queen Sangā (Pūjāv calls her the mother of the King) enriched the Lohamahāpāsāda by providing it with a crowning ornament.

CHAPTER LIII

THE FIVE KINGS

Thereupon the Yuvarāja by name Dappula[1], became king. 1
To the dignity of uparāja he appointed the Ādipāda of his
own name. To the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra he granted a village. 2
And then the King who in the town maintained the pious
ways of former kings, unable on account of former deeds[2] to 3
enjoy this kingdom for a longer time, fell in the seventh
month (of his reign) into the jaws of death.
The Uparāja Dappula[3] then became king after him. He 4
granted the position of yuvarāja to the Ādipāda Udaya. At 5

[1] The nomination by Kassapa V. of Dappula III. (otherwise D. IV.) as yuvarāja is related in 52. 42. Neither Pūjāv. nor Rājāv., nor any other Sinhalese source explains in what relationship he stood to his predecessor. Mhvs. 52. 42 says of him merely *vaṃse jātassa attano.*

[2] P. *pubbkammena attano.* What is meant are his actions in a former existence. His short reign is thus attributed to his unfavourable kamma. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give him a 7 months' reign.

[3] In Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Dappula IV. (V) is called Kuḍā-Dāpuḷu to distinguish him from his predecessor. The three first call him brother (*mal*) of the latter. The Vessagiri inscription (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 23 ff.) which must be placed palaeographically in the 10th cent. belongs to this King. He calls himself here Buddas Abhay Salamevan Dāpuḷu, son of Buddas Sirisangboy Abahay and of Devā Rājna. The name Sirisaṃghabodhi can only apply to Senā II. or Kassapa IV. The latter is ruled out since according to the Sinhalese right of succession, sons of Kassapa IV. could not possibly come to the throne before Udaya III., the son of Mahinda, the younger brother of Sena II. Thus Dappula IV. (and of course his predecessor D. III.) was a brother of Kassapa V., but by another mother (Devā) who is however not mentioned in the Mhvs. The Etaviragolleva inscription AIC. nr. 117: EZ. II. 44 ff.) might be attributed either to Kassapa V. or to Dappula IV. The latter is the more likely, as Kassapa V. has as a rule, the special

that time the Paṇḍu King through fear of the Cola (king)
6 *left* his country, *took* ship and came to Mahātittha The King
had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him,
gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling
7 outside the town When the King of Lankā had armed (with
the purpose) "I will make war on the Cola King, take from
8 him his two thrones[1] and give them to the Paṇḍu King", the
nobles dwelling on the Island for some reason or other stirred
9 up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu King[2] The
Paṇḍu King thought his sojourn here was of no use to him
He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook
10 himself to the Keralas[3] When the strife was ended the King
granted a village near the town to the temple of the great
11 Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra His Senāpati Rakkhaka Ilanga
built a dwelling house not far from the Thūpārāma, that was
12 called after the King The King kept to all that former kings
had done and on reaching the twelfth year[4] (of his reign) he
passed away in accordance with his doing
13 The Yuvarāja Udaya[5] now became monarch over the
dwellers in Lankā He invested the Ādipāda Sena by name,

title *de-biserā-dā* (see notes to 52 11 and 37) which is not the case with the king Abhā Salamevan mentioned in that inscription Further we have the Elleveva inscription of Dappula IV (AIC nr 116) in which he calls himself Abhā Salamevan Dāpulu Lastly the Mahādipāda Udaya (afterwards U III) issued the Puliyankulam inscription (EZ. *II* 44 ff) in the last (12 th) year of the King's reign

[1] P *sayanadrayam* Thus in all MSS with which I am acquainted The Col Ed alters the word arbitrarily into *paṭṭanadrayam*

[2] Cf with *pāpakammena Panduno* the phrase *pāpena Panduno* 52 77 The two passages cannot be separated from one another

[3] A people settled on the Malabar coast of southern India where Malayalam is now spoken The fact that a Paṇḍu king left his crown in Ceylon is confirmed by a south Indian inscription of King Rajendra Coḷa who boasts of having brought it back (Hultzsch JRAS 1913 p 523)

[4] Pūjāv and Rājāv also give Kuḍā Dāpuḷu a twelve years reign They tell of a victorious fight with the Damiḷas who came from the Soḷi land Rajaratn the same

[5] The Puliyankulam inscription (EZ. *I* 182 ff cf note to v 4) belongs to the time just before his ascent of the throne It is dated in the

with the dignity of uparāja. At that time officials of the 14
Court fled for fear of the King to the Grove of the Penitents[1].
The King and the Uparāja went thither and had their heads
cut off. Being indignant at this deed, the ascetics dwelling 15
there left the King's land and betook themselves to Rohaṇa.
Thereupon the people in town and country and the troops 16
became rebellious like the ocean stirred by wild storm. They 17
climbed the Ratanapāsāda[2] in the Abhayuttara(-vihāra), terri-
fied the King by threats[3], struck off the heads of the officials 18
who had helped the strife in the Penitent's Grove and flung
them out of the window. When the Yuvarāja and his friend, 19
the Ādipāda[4], saw that, they sprang over the wall and fled
in haste to Rohaṇa. A division of troops pursued them to 20
the banks of the Kaṇha-nadī[5], but as they could get no boats

twelfth year of Dappula IV. Udaya III. (II.) still calls himself here Udā Mahayā, son of Mihind Mahayā and of Kitā. The title *mahayā* must actually be *mahādipāda*. Linguistically there are difficulties. According to the example of *āpā* = *ādipāda*, we should expect the *p* to be retained in the joint of the compound. In the Galpota inscription at Polonnaruva (C, l. 19; AIC. p. 99; EZ. II. p. 114) we have the combination *āpā mahapā* which Wickremasinghe (EZ. I. 187, n. 7) has pointed out. We meet also repeatedly in inscriptions with the phrase *āpā mahayā siri vindä* (EZ. I. 25, 91, 221) for which curiously enough, *ayipaya mahapaya siri viṁdä* stands in the Jetavanārāma inscription of Mahinda IV. (l. 4, EZ. I. 234). From this it looks almost as if *mahayā* were a specially worn down form of *mahādipāda* or *mahāpāda*. As regards the parents of Udā Mahayā, there is no doubt that the father was Mahinda, a younger brother of Sena II. According to 51. 7 he enjoyed the dignity of uparāja, was therefore Mahādipāda, and he was married to Kitti or Kittā (50. 60). He quarreled with the King, was reconciled with him and bore from that time the title of yuvarāja (for ex. 51. 15). But he never became king, since he died according to 51. 63 before Sena II. He remained therefore as the inscription says *mahayā* all his life.

[1] P. *tapovana*. See note to 52. 22. [2] See note to 48. 135.

[3] Lit. "by showing him a horror". Cf. 53. 47.

[4] The Yuvarāja is Sena (v. 13), his friend (v. 25) is Udaya, later King Udaya IV.

[5] P. *yāva Kaṇhanadītaṭaṃ*. The *Kaṇhanadī* seems to be the same as *Kālanadī* (86. 40, 44), the river forming the boundary of Rohaṇa.

21 and the two were already across, they returned The princes
who in the Penitents' Grove had broken (the precept of) in-
violability betook themselves to the ascetics, threw themselves
22 to the ground at their feet, with their damp garments and
hair, wailed much, lamented and whined and sought to con-
23 ciliate the penitents Through the influence of the peaceability
and benevolence of the Masters of the Order[1] the good deeds
24 of the Island princes told in their favour[2] When the army
had calmed down, the inmates of the three fraternities
25 went to pacify[3] the troops of the Yuvarāja The two
princes who were cultured and well-instructed people turned
imploringly to the Paṃsukūlin(-bhikkhus)[4], and returned with
26 them to their town At the head of the bhikkhus[5] the King
advanced towards them, obtained their pardon, took them
with him, brought them back to their grove and betook him-
27 self to the royal palace From that time onwards the King
observed the conduct of former kings and passed away in the
third year[6] (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds

The princes were pursued up to this point When they arrived in Rohana their garments and hair were still damp *from crossing* that river (v 22)

[1] P *sasanasaminam* The word *sāmin* as title of honour of the bhikkhus corresponds to the *himiyā* so often used in inscriptions Cf also *mahāsamin* 86 38 89 64 See 52 20 with note

[2] P *punnodayo ahu* Cf with this note to 37 189 W s *translation* the great kindness and longsuffering of these lords of religion moved the king towards the two offenders is something quite different to what stands in the Text

[3] The alteration of the Text by the Col Ed into *te samānetum* is quite unnecessary The reading of the MSS *tosam ānetum* gives excellent sense

[4] The Ascetics are meant who had left the Penitents Grove and gone to Rohaṇa As the King was implicated in the wrong that had been committed in the Penitents' Grove, he had also to get *their* pardon (v 26)

[5] That is of those inmates of the three fraternities who were *working for conciliation* At their head the king advances towards the ascetics coming from Rohana in company of the princes

[6] Pūjav 3 years Rājāv 8 years

After receiving consecration as king in Laṅkā, the discern- 28
ing Sena[1] made his friend, the Ādipāda Udaya, yuvarāja.
A thousand kahāpaṇas the Ruler of men was wont to give 29
away to the poor on the Uposatha day, being all his life
long one who kept the Uposatha vow. To the bhikkhus the 30
Ruler gave food and raiment for the images[2] and to mendi-
cant artists the Daṇḍissara offering[3]. Having had built in 31
various places for the bhikkhus graceful pāsādas, the Ruler
granted them maintenance villages. At a cost of a thousand 32
or five hundred kahāpaṇas he had ruined dwellings in Laṅkā
restored. Forty thousand kahāpaṇas did the Ruler lay out 33
for a stone paving[4] of the Abhayuttara-cetiya. On the great 34
tanks in Laṅkā he had the decayed outflow canals renewed
and the dams made firm with stones and earth. In the royal 35
palace he built a beautiful, costly house for flowers and he
retained in full the almsgiving instituted by former kings.
Once when visiting the Nāgasālā-pariveṇa built by the Ma- 36
layarāja, the minister Aggabodhi, he granted it a village. In 37
the four vihāras[5] he set up in pious fashion sculptured figures,
built beautiful maṇḍapas and held constantly sacrificial festi-
vals for the relics. After performing these and even many 38
other meritorious works of divers kind, he passed away in
the ninth year[6] (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds.

Hereupon the Yuvarāja Udaya[7] received the consecration 39
as King in Laṅkā and ordained as uparāja the Ādipāda Sena

[1] He was according to Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn., the brother of his predecessor.

[2] So I understand the compound *paṭimābhattavatthāni*. This would mean that a certain cult was accorded the images whereby food was placed before them and garments swathed about them.

[3] Cf. note to 52. 3; 60. 22.

[4] P. *silāpattharaṇatthāya*. It probably means the paving of the square terrace on which the thūpa stands.

[5] Probably the four large monasteries Mahāvihāra, Jetavana, Abhayagiri with the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.

[6] Pūjāv.: 9 years, Rājāv.: 3 years (mistake for Sena IV. see note to 54. 1).

[7] None of our sources contain any information as so the relationship

40 by name The King was slothful and a friend of spirituous
drinks to the undoing of his subjects[1] The Cola (king) hear-
41 ing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to
achieve consecration as king in the Paṇḍu kingdom, he sent
(messengers) about the diadem and the other (things) which
42 the Paṇḍu (king) had left behind[2] (in Lankā) The King did
not give them up, so the mighty Cola equipped an army and
43 sent it forth to fetch them by force Now at that time the
Senāpati here[3] was absent in a rebellious border province
The King had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the
44 war The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the
fight Thereupon the King (Udaya[4]) took the crown and the
45 rest and betook himself to Rohaṇa The Coḷa troops marched
thither, but finding no way of entering Rohaṇa they turned
and betook themselves through fear from here to their own
46 country Thereupon the Ruler of Lankā appointed the general
Viduragga[5], a man of great energy and discernment, to the
47 position of the Senāpati The Senāpati laid waste the border-
land of the Cola King and forced him with threats[6] to restore[7]

of Udaya IV (III in W s list) to his predecessor Wickremasinghe (EZ II 59 Genealogical Tables) supposes him to have been a younger brother of Udaya III (II) and of Sena III This makes it possible for him to insert Mahinda IV in the genealogical tree (See note to 54 48)

[1] P *papena jantunam* Cf 52 77 and 53 8 with note

[2] See 53 9

[3] I e in Ceylon of course or as in v 45 and 47 from Ceylon

[4] It is inexplicable why W should have added to *rājā so* the words (of Cola) What could the Cola King then have done in Rohaṇa? On the other hand Rohaṇa has forever been the refuge of the Sinhalese kings after being worsted in fight with the Damilas The meaning of the passage is accordingly (as Hultzsch JRAS 1918 p 525 rightly saw) the Coḷa King wins the battle it is true but King Udaya flees with the valuables which the former wants to get back — *makutādini* in v 44 must be the same as *makutadinam* in v 41 — to Rohaṇa The Cola troops pursue him but as they cannot penetrate into Rohaṇa they are obliged to return empty handed *The Cola King therefore did not* get hold of the Crown jewels Hultzsch supposes the Cola King might have been Parantaka I who calls himself in his latest inscription (943/4—947/8) conqueror of Ceylon Cf H W Codrington H C p 39 f

[5] For the name *Viduragu* or *Vijuragu* see note to 51 105

[6] See note to 53 17

[7] P *anapesi* lit 'he had brought hither

all that he had carried away from here (as booty). Thereupon 48
the King had distributed to all the Paṃsukūlika-bhikkhus
dwelling on the Island articles of equipment in costly fashion.
For the image of the Master in the Mahāvihāra the Monarch 49
of Laṅkā fashioned a diadem of jewels which sparkled with
the rays of precious stones. One of the ladies of the harem, 50
Vidurā, honoured his stone image with a network of rays[1]
which glittered with jewels. When he had begun to rebuild 51
the so-called Maṇipāsāda which the troops of the Coḷa King
had burned down, he died in the eighth year (of his reign)[2].

These five rulers of the earth who ruled over an earth united 52
under one umbrella and who had governed the whole world
with severity and clemency, (they all) with wives and children, ministers, women and henchmen fell into the power of death. Hence should the wise ever be minded to give up sloth and pride.

Here ends the fifty-third chapter, called "The Five Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] For *pādajāla* (mandorla) see note to 38. 64, as well as 52. 65.
[2] Pūjāv.: 8 years, Rājāv.: 3 years. But cf. note to 54. 6.

CHAPTER LIV

THE THREE KINGS

1 When thereupon Sena[1] had by inheritance attained con-
secration as king in Laṅkā he made over the dignity of yu-
2 varāja to the Ādipāda Mahinda[2] The King was wise, an ex-
cellent poet, learned, impartial towards friend and foe, ever
3 full of pity and goodwill Without letting the right season
pass, the god at that time sent showers of rain streaming in
the right way, the people who dwelt in the land were ever
4 happy and without fear The King was wont sitting in the
Lohapāsāda, surrounded by the inmates of the three frater-
5 nities, to explain the Suttantas He fashioned a casket for
the Tooth Relic ornamented with various precious stones and

[1] In the Sinhalese sources the order of the kings after Dappula IV (V) = Kuḍa Dapulu is as follows

Pūjāv		Rājāv		Rājar		Nikāys	
	Uda (3)		Uda (8)		Uda		Udā
	Sen (9)		Sen (3)		Sen		Sen
	Uda (8)		Uda (3)		Uda		Udā
	Sen (9)		Sen (9)		Sen		Pasulu Sen
	Sen (3)		Sen (3)		Sen		Madi Sen

Mhvs Udaya (2—3) Sena (8—9) Udaya (7—8) Sena (3) The figures in brackets denote the number of years reigned The main difference is that the Sinhalese sources insert two Senas after Udaya IV (III) and before Mahinda IV (see note to 54 7) whereas Mhvs has only one We shall *probably* have to keep to the older source It should be noted that Pūjāv *and* Rājāv call the last Sena of the above list the son of his predecessor

[2] Wickremasinghe considers this Mahinda to be the later Mahinda IV, a younger brother of Sena IV, because in an inscription in the Jetavanārāma (EZ I 214) Mahinda IV says of the Huligam piriven, that his brother, the Great King, had begun it while he himself had finished it. This pirivena might be the one mentioned in v 6 But cf note to 54 7

in the four vihāras[1] he instituted, in divers ways, sacrificial
festivals for the relics. After turning Sitthagāma where he 6
had himself dwelt, into a pariveṇa and after protecting the
world like a son he entered into Heaven after a three years'
reign.

The Yuvarāja Mahinda[2] became king after him, rich in 7
merit, rich in splendour, rich in military power, rich in fame.
He united Laṅkā under one umbrella after overcoming the 8
peril (threatened) by rebels. The chiefs of districts always
upheld him. Although there was also in Laṅkā a race of 9
nobles[3], the Ruler of men had a princess of the line of the
ruler of Kāliṅga fetched and made her his first mahesī. Of 10

[1] See note to 53. 37.

[2] P. Goldschmidt, E. Müller and Wickremasinghe ascribe to King Mahinda IV. a series of inscriptions in which the author calls himself Sirisangboi-Abahay (Sirisaṃghabodhi Abhaya). These are: 1) a slab inscription in Vessagiri (EZ. I. 29); 2) the two well-known inscriptions halfway up the Mihintale mountain (EZ. I. 75); 3) the pillar inscription of Rāja-maligāva in Polonnaruva (EZ. II. 49); 4) two slab inscriptions in the Jetavanārāma (EZ. I. 213); 5) a slab inscription in Vevelketiya (EZ. I. 241), with a parallel inscription in Kahata-gasdigiliya, Bell ASC., 7 th Prog. Rep. 1891 = XIII. 1896, p. 51; 6) a slab inscription in Rambeva (EZ. II. 64). In addition there in 7) the pillar inscription of Mayilagastota in which the author merely calls himself *āpā Mihindu*, that is Ādipāda, not king. No. 1 is the most certain because the author in addition to his biruda SSB. calls himself Mihindu, and because in it the Senāpati Sena is mentioned with an allusion to the successful campaign against the Damiḷas, which is mentioned in Mhvs. 54. 12. For the rest there are certain difficulties. The author of inscrs. 2 and 3 names as his parents Salamevan (Silāmeghavaṇṇa) — which fits Kassapa V. father of Mahinda IV. — and Dev Gon. Inscr. 7 however, speaks of these as Salamevan and Sang Gon. Again they are called in inscrs. 4 and 6 Sirisangbo and Dev Gon. In nr. 5 the father is likewise called Sirisangbo while no mother is mentioned. Wickremasinghe (EZ. I. 213) explains the difference in the father's name by assuming that Kassapa V. used both birudas SSB. and SMV., a way out of the difficulty which I adopt very unwillingly, being more inclined to believe in a regular alternation of the two epithets. The difficulty with Dev Gon and Sang Gon has not been got rid of. Cf. below note to 54. 48.

[3] *Vijjamāne* must be supplemented by *vaṃse* from pāda d.

11 her were born two sons and a charming daughter. He made
his sons ādipādas and his daughter a queen: thus the Ruler
founded the royal house of the Sihalas
12 The Vallabha King[1] sent a force to Nāgadīpa to subdue
13 this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the King sent
thither the Senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made
over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha King.
14 The Senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops
of this (Vallabha) King, defeated them and remained master
15 of the battlefield As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at
their head, were unable to vanquish our King, they made a
16 friendly treaty with the ruler of Lankā In this way the fame
of the King penetrated to Jambudipa, spreading over Lankā
and crossing the Ocean
17 The priests who preached the true doctrine the King treated
with the most marked distinction He hearkened to the doc-
18 trine and believed in the Order of the Buddha. The King
assembled the Pamsukūlin bhikkhus, invited them in a friendly
19 manner and had them brought into his house He had seats
prepared for them, made them sit down and had pure[2] food
abundantly set before them, and this always as on the one
20 day[3] To the ascetics living in the wilderness[4] the King sent
continually food pure, costly and abundant, with all kinds of
21 seasoning To sick ascetics the King who was a fount of
pity, sent physicians and sought continually to heal them.
22 Pieces of sugar baked in melted butter, juice of garlic, and
betel as sweet odour for the mouth, he gave them always as
23 dessert He had the alms-bowls of the Pamsukūlika bhikkhus
filled with garlic, black pepper[5], long pepper[6] and ginger,

[1] For Vallabha which is not a personal name as W thinks, see note 47 15 On Sena's campaign see note to v 7

[2] P *suddha* pure in a ritual sense What is meant are *foods of* which ascetics may also eat.

[3] W's translation 'thus did he always, as if it seemed to him the work of one day" is certainly wrong

[4] See notes to 41 99, 52 22 53 14

[5] P *marica* Piper nigrum [6] P *pipphali* Piper longum

sugar and the three kinds of myrobalans[1] and to evary single 24
(bhikkhu) he distributed continually melted butter, oil and
honey. as also cloaks and blankets[2]. All necessaries such as 25
clothing and the like the Ruler had made and distributed
among the Paṃsukūlin bhikkhus. In the Mahāvihāra the King 26
had new cloth to make robes therewith provided for every
single bhikkhu. To the Lābhavāsin bhikkhus[3] dwelling in 27
the three fraternities the Ruler twice dispensed (rice) equal
in weight to that of his body. The decree "Kings shall in 28
future take no revenues for themselves out of the revenues
of the Order" the King had engraved in stone and set (the
stone) up[4]. He made poor people recite the formula of the 29
(threefold) refuge[5] and the nine qualities[6] of the Buddha and
then gave them food and clothing. He built an alms-hall on 30
the grounds of the Elephant House and gave to beggars alms
and couches. In all the hospitals he distributed medicine and 31
beds, and he had food given regularly to criminals in prison.
To apes, the wild boar, the gazelle and to dogs he, a fount 32
of pity, had rice and cakes distributed as much as they would.
In the four vihāras the King had raw rice laid down in heaps 33
with the injunction that the poor should take of it as much
as they wanted. While holding various sacrificial festivals 34
and while instituting a great feast he had the Vinaya re-
cited by learned bhikkhus. Having made presents to him he 35

[1] P. *tiphala* = skr. *triphala*, the fruit of the Terminalia chebula, Terminalia bellerica and Phyllanthus emblica (P. *harītaka, vibhītaka, āmalaka*).

[2] P. *pāpurattharaṇāni* is an abbreviation of *pāpuraṇa-attharaṇāni*.

[3] It is clear from 60. 68, 72, that the Lābhavāsins like the Paṃsukūlins formed a group of ascetics within the great community.

[4] It is of course, impossible to determine to what inscription of the King this alludes. The Mihintale plates as far as I can see, have no injunction identical with the above.

[5] P. *saraṇāni*. What is meant is the formula *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, dhammaṃ s. g., saṃghaṃ s. g.* which is usually repeated three times.

[6] P. *guṇe nava*. Cf. on the navaguṇa formula *iti pi so bhagavā* etc. Childers, PD. s. v.

had a commentary to the Abhidhamma written by the Thera Dhammamitta[1] who dwelt in the Sitthagāma(-pariveṇa)[2]
36 By the Thera called Dāṭhānāga dwelling in the wilderness, an ornament of Laṅkā, he had the Abhidhamma recited
37 He paid honour to the Hemamālika-cetiya by the gift of a covering of stuff, by dance and song, by parfumes and flowers
38 of divers kinds, by garlands of lamps and incense of many kinds, and he presented the bhikkhus there with raiment which
39 he himself distributed among them Continually from the gardens[3] here and there in his kingdom he had flowers brought
40 and paid honour therewith to the three Jewels He began to build the pāsāda called Candana in the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra)
41 and granted the bhikkhus maintenance villages. There the Ruler had the Hair Relic preserved, had fashioned (for it) a reliquary of jewels and (this) set up as a dedicatory gift
42 The Ruler had the cetiya in the Thūpārāma covered with stripes of gold and silver and instituted for it a sacrificial
43 festival in accordance with his royal dignity In the relic temple there the King had a golden door put up like to
44 Mount Sineru[4] gleaming in the beams of the sun He restored the beautiful temple of the *four cetiyas in Padalanchana*[5] which had been burnt down by the troops of the Cola King
45 (In like manner) he restored the burnt temple of the Tooth Relic[6] in the centre of the town, the Dhammasaṅgaṇi
46 house[7] and the Mahāpāli Hall The Ruler having had a betel-maṇḍapa[8] built, made over the earnings from it to the

[1] Wickremasinghe (EZ 1 215) supposes that this thera might be the thera mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda's in the Jetavana as *Mahadami* (P *mahādhammika*)

[2] See above v 6

[3] The loc. *uyyānesu* stands here instead of the abl

[4] Name of the mythical mountain Meru (Sumeru Hemameru) See 37 79

[5] See 52. 63

[6] Evidently the temple mentioned 37 93 95 which was situated near the palace thus *nagaramajjhamhi*

[7] See 52. 50-51 This building also was situated *nagaramajjhamhi*

[8] I e a pavilion where betel was sold.

bhikkhus of the Thera School[1] for (the purchase of) medicines. He built a home called Mahāmallaka and made it over 47
to the bhikkhunīs proceeding from the Thera School. Now 48
too the Monarch completed the so-called Maṇipāsāda, begun by his mother's brother, the pious King Udaya[2]. Four officials 49
of the King thereupon had four pariveṇas built in the Jetavana. The gracious consort of the King Kitti by name, his 50
equal in fame, built a beautiful pariveṇa west of the Thūpārama and in this pariveṇa, in Kappāsagāma and in the Cīvara- 51
cetiya she laid down three pure bathing tanks. To the Hema- 52
mālika-cetiya she dedicated, rich in meritorious works, a golden banner twelve cubits long. For the laity her son built a ho- 53
spital in the town, and the able Sakkasenānī[3] one for bhikkhus outside of the town. In the four vihāras the King had maṇ- 54
ḍapas erected, like to heavenly palaces and by holding sacrificial festivals in divers ways for the relics for longer than 55

[1] P. *theravaṃse* (loc. instead of gen. *-sassa*). W. remarks about this passage that the Thera bhikkhus "traced their line of succession from the great apostle Mahinda". The term *theriyā* however, goes back (Mhvs. 3. 40) to the First Council. The expression *vaṃsa* is used here as in 52. 63, figuratively for "School", likewise again in v. 47.

[2] The drawing up of the family tree of Mahinda IV. is beset with difficulties. Wickremasinghe (plate to EZ. II. 59) has tried very ingeniously to remove them. He assumes that Udaya IV. was the younger brother of Sena III., and Sena IV. (cf. note to 54. 1) the elder brother of Mahinda IV. In this way as Saṃghā the wife of Kassapa V. (see 51. 18) was a sister of Udaya IV., the latter could be called the *mātula* of Mahinda IV. Two objections remain. Udaya IV. is twice (53. 19 and 28) called the "friend" of Sena III. This term used of a younger brother is surprising. Further, the mother of Mahinda IV. was, if the Mihintale plates are really his, not Saṃghā, but the Devā mentioned 52. 64. — Possibly the following hypothesis may help to clear up the matter. Kassapa V. had two sons called Mahinda, one by Saṃghā, and one by Devā. The first is the Mahinda mentioned in 51. 99 ff., the author of the Mayilagastota inscription (Nr. 7 in note to 54. 7). He never became king but died earlier, of which however we have no account. The second Mahinda is the later king Mahinda IV. Let us assume further that Devā, the second wife of Kassapa V. as to whose origin we know nothing, was a half-sister of Saṃghā, then Udaya IV. would be the *mātula* of Mahinda IV. I must point out that my Udaya IV. is W.'s U. III.

[3] The same as *sakkasenāpati*. See 52. 52. This is probably the son of the Sakkasenāpati (the son of Kassapa V.), who (52. 79) after his father's death, inherited his dignity.

56 a year, he kept to the pious ways of former kings Having
thus performed these and other eminent, meritorious works
in sundry ways the King entered in the sixteenth year (of
his reign) into the heaven of the gods[1]
57 Sena, the twelve years old son of the King[2] by the Kālinga
58 princess now came to the throne The position of yuvaraja
he conferred on his younger brother Udaya Sena, his father's
59 senāpati, was also his senapati Once when the Senāpati was
away with the army in the border country he had his younger
60 brother Mahāmalla[3] who had committed an offence[4] with his
mother, slain and made a court official Udaya by name, who
61 was loyal to him, senapati When the Senāpati Sena heard
this he was wroth and came with his army, intending to take
62 his foes captive Hearing the tidings thereof the Monarch
thought I shall bring herewith my court official who has
(always) carried out my decrees into safety, left (the town)
63 and betook himself to Rohaṇa[5] But his mother turned back,
took the Yuvarāja (Udaya) and the Queen with her, and
wroth with him (the King) summoned the Senapati (Sena)
64 to her[6] Supported therein by her, he collected Damilas, gave
over the country to them and took up his abode in Pulatthi-
65 nagara To fight him the King sent troops from Rohaṇa,
but the Senāpati annihilated the whole army of the King

[1] Pujav Rajav and Nik s call the King Kula Midel Rajar Midel Sala Pujav gives him a reign of 16 Rajav one of 12 years

[2] Thus according to the reading *rajam* of the Col Ed which I now prefer to *raja* of the MSS *Jāto paticca tam rajam* lit born to the king

[3] W connects *Mahamallam* wrongly with *Udayam* whereas it belongs to *bhataram* in 59 d

[4] W s translation who dwelt in his mother s house says nothing and misses the point As regards the meaning I have adopted for *vattantai* I refer the reader to skr *vart* (BR s v 7) which is likewise used in the sense of forbidden sexual intercourse with a woman

[5] The reading of the text and the translation are very doubtful W s rendering And when the King heard thereof he departed and fled to Rohaṇa taking with him the minister who had been as a slave unto him and whom he regarded as his saviour can scarcely be reconciled with the text as contained in the Col Ed

[6] The Queen mother is angry with her son because he has done away with her lover so takes the part of the Senapati Sena the elder brother of the murdered man

The Damiḷas now plundered the whole country like devils 66
and pillaging, seized the property of its inhabitants. In their 67
distress the people betook themselves to Rohaṇa to the King
and told him of the matter. He took counsel with his ministers
and to protect the Order of the Buddha, he sent his Senāpati 68
(Udaya) forth from the kingdom[1], made a treaty with (the
Senāpati) Sena and came to Pulatthinagara. He made the 69
daughter of the latter his mahesī, to continue his line. With
her he begot an excellent son, called Kassapa. But while now 70
the Ruler of Laṅkā had his abode there[2] his low class[3] favou-
rites who obtained no leave from their teacher to drink
surā, praised in his presence[4] the advantages of drinking in- 71
toxicating liquors and induced the Ruler to drink. After
taking intoxicating drinks he was like a wild beast gone mad.
As he could no longer digest food the Ruler had to surrender 72
the dearly-won place and died in the tenth year (of his reign),
still youthful in years[5].

When they see from this that the yielding to evil friends 73
leads to destruction, let those who seek their highest good
here or hereafter, avoid such (evil friends) as a snake full of
deadly poison.

Here ends the fifty-fourth chapter, called "The Three Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Col. Ed. changes the *raṭṭhā* of the MSS. into *raṭṭhaṃ* which then stands next to *sāsanaṃ*. We miss *ca*. W. translates after the Col. Ed. text, "to save the religion and his country".

[2] Namely in Pulatthinagara.

[3] P. *hīnajā*. W.'s translation "who cared not for him" is wrong.

[4] Thus, if my conjecture *tassa santike* instead of *tassa sattavo* is right. If one keeps to *sattavo*, then the passage would have to be translated thus: "his low-class favourites who otherwise found no opportunity of drinking surā, being his teachers (and at the same time) his foes, praised the advantages etc.".

[5] The Sinhalese sources call the King Salamevan after his biruda (Silāmeghavaṇṇa). His predecessor had the surname Sirisaṃghabodhi. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give Salamevan a reign of 10 years. They tell of his initial successes against the Damiḷas and of his conflict with the Senāpati who then brought an army of 95000 Damiḷas into the country.

CHAPTER LV

THE PILLAGE OF LANKĀ

1 The Prince Mahinda[1], his younger brother, who after
his death raised the white umbrella in splendid Anurādhapura
2 which was full of strangers brought hither by the Senāpati Sena,
3 abode there ten years amid difficult circumstances[2] As he wandered from the path of statecraft and was of very weak character, the peasants did not deliver him his share of the produce
4 As the Prince in his tenth year had entirely lost his fortune,
he was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay.
5 All the Keralas[3] who got no pay planted themselves one
with another at the door of the royal palace, determined on
6 force, bow in hand, armed with swords and (other) weapons,
(with the cry) "So long as there is no pay he shall not eat"
7 But te King duped them Taking with him all his moveable
goods he escaped by an underground passage[4] and betook
8 himself in haste to Rohaṇa In Sidupabbatagāma he set up
an armed camp and took up his abode there, after making
9 his brother's wife mahesi When she died shortly after, he
10 raised his brother's daughter to the rank of mahesī When
of this Queen a son was born who received the name of
11 Kassapa, the Ruler gave up the stronghold inhabited by him

[1] We hear nothing of the reasons why Udaya who according to 54 58, was appointed *yuvarāja* *did not come to the throne*

[2] P *kicchena* ("with trouble') *dasa vacchare.* W has 'twelve years

[3] See *note to* 53. 9 The Keralas were enlisted as mercenaries by the Sihala king

[4] The Kauṭaliya speaks I 20 1 ff of secret exits, underground tunnels which have to be made in the royal palace (*antahpura*) Cf Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, trsl by R Shamasastry, p 45 ff, J J Meyer, Das Altind Buch vom Welt und Staatsleben p 49 The skr expression in the Kauṭalīya is *surunga* See O Stein, ZII 3 313

and founded a town at the village of Kappagallaka and dwelt,
carrying on the government, for long time among the people
of Rohaṇa. But in the remaining parts of the country Keraḷas, 12
Sīhalas and Kaṇṇāṭas[1] carried on the government as they
pleased. But a horse-dealer who had come hither from the 13
opposite coast, told the Coḷa King on his return about the
conditions in Laṅkā. On hearing this, the powerful (prince), 14
with the purpose of taking possession of Laṅkā, sent off a
strong body of troops. They landed speedily in Laṅkā. From 15
the spot where they disembarked, oppressing the mass of the
inhabitants, the Coḷa army advanced on Rohaṇa. In the six 16
and thirtieth year of the King's reign the Coḷas seized the
Mahesī[2], the jewels, the diadem, that he had inherited, the
whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, 17
a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of
the torn strip of cloth[3]. But the Ruler himself who had fled 18

[1] *Karṇāṭa* embraced the territory of the present Mysore and adjoining strips of country. The name is preserved in that of the Kanarese language. LSI. IV. 362.

[2] For the acc. *mahesiṃ* etc., the governing verb *agaṇhiṃsu* must be taken from v. 18. To the articles of the regalia (*rājasādhana* or *rājabhaṇḍa*) belong also the umbrella (*chatta*) and the so-called *ekāvalī*, a chain consisting of one row of pearls. Their possession means at the same time that of the royal dignity. In times of danger, therefore, the first thing the king does is to secure the insignia (41. 20). A new king takes care to get hold of them in order to legalize therewith his possession of the throne. Thus Moggallāna I. after the suicide of Kassapa I. (39. 28), so also in Rohaṇa the aunt of Mahinda after his murder (*desaṃ gaṇhi sasādhanaṃ*, 50. 51; cf. also 48. 89). After the death of Aggabodhi IV. as there is no heir, the people take charge of the *rājabhaṇḍaṃ* (46. 38). After the death of Mahālānakitti the Coḷas take possession of the diadem and the other valuables (*kirīṭādidhanaṃ* 56. 10). The Coḷa king claims therewith symbolically the dominion over Laṅkā. When Aggabodhi III. flees, he takes the string of pearls *ekāvalī* with him. It is expressly said of Dāṭhopatissa, that he became king without the *ekāvali* (44. 127-8), thus something of his dignity is wanting. It is significant too, that when Saṃghatissa's royal umbrella by a mere accident falls into the hands of the rebel Moggallāna the army at once recognises him as the legitimate king (44. 18—20).

[3] W. translates: "and the sacred forehead band" and adds in a note

in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence
19 of making a treaty Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all
the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to
20 the Cola Monarch In the thre fraternities and in all Lankā
(breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many
21 costly images of gold[1] etc, and while they violently
destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-
sucking yakkhas[2] they took all the treasures of Lankā for
22 themselves With Pulatthinagara as base, the Colas held sway
over Rajaraṭṭha[3] as far as the locality known as Rakkha-
23 pāsāṇakaṇṭha People in the kingdom took the young prince
Kassapa and brought him up, carefully protecting him through
24 fear of the Colas When the Cola King heard that the boy had
reached his twelfth year, he sent high officials with a large
25 force to seize him They brought with them warriors a hundred
thousend less five thousand (in number) and they ransacked

the term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead This translation of *chinnapattikadhatuka* is perhaps not impossible Apparently a piece of stuff is meant of the Buddha s dress which belonged as highly prized relic to the regalia of the Sinhalese kings

[1] For the acc. *dhatugabbhe* in v 20 we must take as governing verb the gerund *bhinditvā* from v 21 and from the same verse *aggahum* for governing *patibimbe* in v 20

[2] The *ojoharino yakkhā* correspond to the vampires of Slav popular belief F S Krauss Slavische Volkforschungen, p 124 ff

[3] The designation so frequently used later of *Rājarattha* 'King s Province for northern Ceylon is used in contrast to Rohaṇa (cf for ex *70 184 f) as well as to Dakkhiṇadesa (for ex., 72 176 79) Later the* name Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha is substituted for it (s note to 83 26) The Cola king who conquered Ceylon was according to Hultzsch, JRAS 1913 p 522 ff) Parakesarivarman alias Rājendra *Cola I who in the Tiru*malai Rock Inscription (EI. IX p 229 ff) boasts of having seized the crown of the king of Ceylon, the crowns of the queens of that king, as well as the 'crown and the necklace of Indra which the king *of the South* (i e the Paṇḍya king) hat previously deposited with the king of Ceylon The conquest of Ceylon is first recorded in inscriptions of Rājendra s 6 th year = *1017 8 A D* but not mentioned *in those of* the 5 th year, and consequently it must have taken place in A D 1017 See also H W Codrington H. C, p 40 53

the whole province of Rohaṇa in every direction. A court 26
official called Kitti, who dwelt in Makkhakudrūsa, and a minister
named Buddha, a native of Māragallaka[1], these two vali- 27
ant men, well versed in the ways of war, made the resolve
to destroy the Coḷa army completely. At a place called Pa- 28
luṭṭhagiri[2] they took up fortified positions, carried on war
for six months and killed a great number of Damiḷas. The 29
Coḷas who had survived the slaughter in this fight, seized
with fear, fled and took up their abode as before in Pulatthi-
nagara. When thereupon the Prince saw the two victorious 30
officials, he was highly pleased and spake to them (thus):
"Choose a wish my friends". Buddha asked as wish for the 31
village in which his family dwelt; Kitti chose as wish that
the part of his revenues which the bhikkhu community had
appropriated might be remitted. After the most excellent of 32
officials had their wishes fulfilled by the most excellent of
princes, these brave men, fearless, and full of humility, wor-
shipped his feet.

King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in Coḷa land and entered 33
into heaven in the forty-eighth year[3] (from his ascent of the
throne).

Thus fortune's goods if they were gained by one smitten 34
with indolence, are not abiding. Therefore should the prudent
man, who strives after his salvation, ever display ceaseless
endeavour.

Here ends the fifty-fifth chapter, called "The Pillage of Laṅkā", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] For Māragallaka, now Maragala see note to 48. 129.

[2] Cf. 58. 18 with note.

[3] Cf. v. 16. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. ascribe a reign of 48 years to Mahinda, without a word about anything that happened during it. According to them the arrival of the 95.000 Damiḷas took place in the time of his predecessor.

CHAPTER LVI

THE SIX KINGS

1 After they had given the name of Vikkamabāhu to the
Monarch's son, all the Sihalas acted full of humility according
2 to his command The King collected by every means, money
for defeating the Damilas, showing, as was meet, favour to
3 his adherents At the request of his court officials he had
ornament and diadem, umbrella and throne made ready for
4 the festival of the King's consecration, but he refused (the
festival with the words) "What boots me the ceremony of
the raising of the umbrella so long as the possession of Rā-
5 jaraṭṭha[1] is not achieved?" Then the mighty (Prince) assem-
bled a hundred thousand men But as at the time when the
campaign should have begun, he was suffering from the wind
6 disease[2], he thought it not the time to carry on war and
entered suddenly in the twelfth year (of his reign) into the
city of gods and came into the company of the gods[3]
7 A court official called Kitti, who was invested with the
dignity of senāpati, aspired to the kingship and maintained
his authority for eight days
8 He was slain by the mighty Mahālānakitti, who attained
consecration as king, and holding sway over the province called
9 Rohana, was vanquished in his third year in battle against

[1] Vikkamabāhu is still restricted to Rohaṇa. See note to 55 22

[2] P vātaroga For the various diseases which Indian medicine groups under this term (vātavyadhi) see Jolly, Medicin, p 118 f

[3] The same length of reign (12 years) is ascribed to Vikkamabāhu by Pūjāv and Rājāv They say of him though certainly wrongly, that he drove out the Damilas who had entered the country under his father Rājāv and Nik s merely mention his name

the Colas and with his own hand he cut his throat and so
died a sudden death[1].
Thereupon the Damiḷas took the chief treasures, such as 10
the diadem and the like and sent them to the Monarch of the
Coḷa land. The only son of the Prince (Mahālānakitti) known 11
by the name of Vikkamapaṇḍu, had through fear left his
kingdom and was sojourning in the Duḷu country. But when 12
he had tidings of the events in Laṅkā, he betook himself to
the province of Rohaṇa, and dwelling in Kālalittha[2], carried
on the government there for a year[3].
Then a powerful prince of the line of Rāma, known by 13
the name of Jagatīpāla, a Sovereign's son who had come
from the town Ayojjha[4], slew Vikkamapaṇḍu in battle and 14
ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa four years[5]. Him also the 15
Coḷas slew in battle and sent the Mahesī with her daughter
and all the valuable property to the Coḷa kingdom.
Then King Parakkama, son of the Paṇḍu King, reigned[6] 16
two years[7]. The Coḷas slew him also when fighting with him.
These (princes) who were too much swayed by the power 17
of desire, went without exception, helplessly to destruction.
Wen the wise man has recognised this, he will doubtless ever
be bent on the annihilation of desire.

Here ends the fifty-sixth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Sinhalese sources pass over Kitti entirely. They call his successor Mahālānakitti Mahalō. He reigned according to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 3 years.

[2] Now Kalutara at the mouth of the Kaluganga.

[3] According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Vikramapaṇḍi had reigned 3 years.

[4] Skr. *Ayodhya*, the present Oudh in India, situated on the river Gogra.

[5] Pūjāv. the same; Rājāv. 1 year.

[6] *Akā* must be supplemented by *rajjaṃ* from v. 14. Vikkamapaṇḍu is probably meant by the Paṇḍu King.

[7] Pūjāv. 1 year; Rājāv. 6 years. In Rājar. the name is missing. In Pūjāv. he is called Parākramapaṇḍi, in Rājāv. Parākramabāhupāṇḍi, in Nik.-s. Parākramapāṇḍiya.

CHAPTER LVII

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ENEMIES OF ROHANA

1 An army leader called Loka[1], who dwelt in Makkhakudrūsa, a trustworthy, determined man, capable of breaking
2 the arrogance of the Colas, after bringing the people over to his side, took possession of the government in the district of Rohaṇa and dwelt in Kājaragāma[2], versed in the conduct determined by custom
3 Ad that time there lived a powerful prince of the name of Kitti The history of his lineage will now be told in the sequel[3]

[1] In the Sinhalese sources he is called Lokesvara. Pujav gives him a reign of six years The end of Loka's reign is related 57 45-64 For the following period of Sinhalese history it is very difficult to bring the statements of South Indian inscriptions into accordance with those of the Culavamsa. I refer to Hultzsch, JRAS 1913 p 519—21, H W Codrington H. C., p. 55 ff [2] See note to 45 45

[3] From the way it is introduced, the following section seems to be taken from a new source possibly (see note to 45. 37) from what I have called the Chronicle of Rohaṇa" There are however certain differences between its statements and the rest of the contents of the Culavamsa. That the Kassapa in v 4 is meant for Kassapa II (44 144 45 1 ff) seems certain But there is a confusion about the names Māna and Manavamma. Māna is called the eldest son of Kassapa II in 45 6 The question is whether he is identical with the Manavamma who later (47 2, 62) ascends the throne. In the Rohaṇa Chronicle (57 5) the elder son of Kassapa is called Mānavamma, the younger who comes to the throne, 57 14 Māna but in 57 25 Mānavamma. Of all the difficulties which according to the Cūlavamsa (47 2 ff) preceded Manavamma's ascent of the throne the Rohaṇa Chronicle apparently says nothing A similar difference exists as regards the names of the sons of Dappula I According to the Rohaṇa Chronicle the eldest of these is Mānavamma the Cūlavamsa speaks of the sister's son of Kassapa II only as Māna.

King Kassapa had a son known by the name of Māna. 4
He was ādipāda, a brave man and distinguished by his good
conduct. His elder brother the wise Mānavamma had at one 5
time seated himself on the bank of the river in the neigh-
bourhood of Gokaṇṇaka[1] and had made full preparations ac- 6
cording to custom for an incantation. He began after taking
the rosary[2] in his hand, to murmur the magic verse. To him 7
there appeared Kumāra on his riding bird[3]. The peacock pecked
with its beak at the plate with the offerings[4], but finding no 8
drink in the old coconut shell with its holes, out of which
the water had run[5], he flew at the magician's face[6]. The latter 9
thinking[7] (only) of future success, offered it his eye. The
peacock slit it open and drank thereout violently. Kumāra 10
was pleased, he granted the Prince his prayed-for wish and
departed brightly gleaming through the air[8]. When his 11
court officials beheld Mānavamma with his destroyed eye, they
grieved, but he comforted the people by telling them of the

[1] See note to 41. 79.

[2] See note to 46. 17.

[3] The God Skanda, who is worshipped in Kājaragāma, riding on the peacock which is sacred to him. Hopkins, Epic Mythology p. 227.

[4] P. *balipaṭṭaṃ*. W. has a note to this: "The tray or bowl in which food, flowers, etc. are presented to spirits at the performances of magical rites". P. *paṭṭa* may mean "tray", but for "bowl" we should expect *patta* = skr. *pātra*.

[5] W.: "Water is generally placed in a coconut shell on the altar for the benefit of the evil spirit".

[6] P. *japantassa mukhaṃ gato*. W. translates this by: "He went up and stood in the presence of the wizard". That is misleading.

[7] P. *bhāviniṃ siddhiṃ apekkhaṃ*. W. interprets the passage quite differently. He translates: "The wizard remembered the Bhávini siddhi" and remarks thereto in the note: "A course of action under certain emergencies, prescribed in magical rites".

[8] Popular tradition places the legend of the incantation described in v. 5 ff. in the Vākirigala-vihāra in the Kegalla District. The magician is mentioned only by his later monk's name of Mayūrapāda. The Vākirigala-vihāra is said to have been called in former times Mayūrapāda-pāya after him. Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 45.

12 fulfilment of his wish. Thereupon his companions were content and urged him to come to Anurādhapura and carry out
13 his consecration as king. "What boots me the royal dignity now that I have a maimed body? I will practise asceticism as soon as I have undergone the ceremony of world-renun-
14 ciation. Let my younger brother, Māna by name, preserve the inherited reign of Lankā" With that he rejected the royal
15 dignity which had come to him. Having thoroughly grasped his purpose, his court officials sent people to tell that his younger
16 brother. At the tidings thereof, the brother came speedily hither, sought out his brother, fell at his feet, wept and grieved
17 sore and betook himself along with the elder brother, to Anurādhapura where in accordance with the purposes of the
18 elder (brother), he took over the crown. Hereupon he betook himself to Abhayagiri and doing reverence, besought the ascetics for admission for his brother to the ceremony of world-
19 renunciation. Thereupon the ascetics carried out with the cripple the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission
20 into the Order without regard to the regulations[1]. The Ruler built for him the superb pariveṇa Uttaromūla and made him
21 head of the pariveṇa. He placed under him there six hundred bhikkhus, gave him the seven supervisory officials[2] and the
22 five groups of servitors[3] He gave him further assistants who

[1] According to the Vinaya (Mahāvagga I 71 = Vin ed Oldenberg I. p 91) cripples are not admitted to the Order.

[2] P *patihāre satta* According to Abhp 1018, *paṭihāra* is equivalent to *dvarapālaka*. That is too narrow an interpretation if it is a case here of "seven *patihāra*". The word probably means in general a monastery official In fact the Mihintale tablet A (line 20 21) enumerates seven of these 1) *veher purahanna*, 2) *miyam jetu*, 3) *a kāmiyā*, 4) *pasakkāmiya*, 5) *veher leya*, 6) *karaṇḍ leyā*, 7) *karaṇḍu atsamu* For attempts at explaining these difficult terms see Wickremasinghe, EZ I. 101 In slab B, line 5 an eighth is added, *sārāyin-gannal* The *mangul-jetak* mentioned here in line 6 corresponds probably to the *miyam jetu* in A

[3] Cf 67. 68, as well as 64 5 In the last passage, in addition to the five groups of servants, ten others are also distinguished W says in a note to our passage that the five mean "carpenters, weavers, dyers barbers and workers in leather" I believe rather that what is meant

were versed in various handicrafts and placed under him the
guardians of the Tooth Relic. His (the King's) counsellors were 23
the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri(-vihāra) and the King pro-
tected the people wholly according to his (brother's) advice.
But certain people who were of his lineage, but had no de- 24
sire for world-renunciation, dwelt as they liked and were
addressed by the title of "Great Lord"[1]. From the pure race 25
of this King Mānavamma versed in the law and in statecraft,
that was propagated in sons and grandsons with Aggabodhi[2] 26
at the head, that was first among princely dynasties, there went
forth sixteen (sovereigns) of equal birth who held legitimate
sway in Laṅkā.

The monarch Mahinda had two (cousins) daughters of his 27
mother's brother. These fair (maidens) were known by the
names of Devalā und Lokitā. Of these two daughters, Lokitā 28
conceived by the son of her father's sister[3], the handsome 29
prince Kassapa by name, two sons called Moggallāna and
Loka[4]. The elder of these, versed in all the ways of the
world and the Order, known by the title "Great Lord"[5], 30

are workmen as enumerated in the Mihintale tablet B, line 7 ff. We have no idea it is true, of the principle on which the division of these servants into five or ten groups was made.

[1] P. *mahāsāmipadaṃsita* = Skr. *mahāsvāmipradarśita*. On the title *himiyā* = P. *sāmī* used of bhikkhus see note to 52. 10.

[2] Aggabodhi V. It is true he is not mentioned by name in the list of kings in the Cūlavaṃsa, perhaps owing to a gap in the text. See above 48. 1 ff. It should be noted that here the King, father of Aggabodhi, is not called Māna as in v. 14, but Mānavamma. Cf. note to 57. 3.

[3] P. *mātulattajaṃ*. I am inclined to assume that *mātulā* here is used in the sense "father's sister". This would bring us back to the family tree as Still has drawn it up in the Index to the Mhvs. Kassapa the husband of Lokitā, would then be the son of Mahinda V. (55. 10), later King Vikkamabāhu I. (56. 1).

[4] I take *Moggallānaṃ ca Lokavhe* for a disintegrated compound. The change into *Moggallānalokavhe* of the Col. Ed. is suggestive, but gets no support from the MSS.

[5] This title apparently customary in Rohaṇa is derived according to 45. 50 from Dappula I.

zealous in the service of the community, a habitation of many
choice virtues, took up his abode in Rohaṇa
31 A grandson of King Dāṭhopatissa[1] who had undergone the
ceremony of world-renunciation in the Order of the Holy *Buddha*,
32 dwelt full of faith, practising asceticism, controlled by discipline,
selfcontrolled in spirit, as hermit in a solitary spot The
gods who had pleasure in him, praised everywhere his virtue
33 When the Ruler of Lankā heard of his excellence, the fame
of which had spread everywhere, he sought him out, bowed
34 before him and sought to gain him as his counsellor[2] But as
he would not, he besought him again and again, had him
fetched and made him take up his abode in a finely built
35 pāsāda The King who prized highly the excellence of the
Master of the ascetics, as long as he dwelt there, ruled the
people in justice, walking in the way marked out by his ad-
36 vice But because the Master among ascetics in consequence
of the invitation given him in honourable fashion by the
Master of Lankā, had of his pity forsaken the mountain world[3],
37 and having gathered bhikkhus round him, had taken up his
abode there, (the pāsāda) got the name of Selantara-
38 samūha Since that time the sovereigns of Lankā make a
bhikkhu spend the night in a small temple[4] of the gods and

[1] It is impossible to determine whether Dāṭhopatissa I or II is meant here

[2] The inf *katum attanusāsanam* to give him counsel is governed by *aradhayam* in 34a Which King of Lankā is meant we do not know Perhaps Mānavamma? The fragment vv 31—39 has evidently only the object of leading from Mahinda from whom Kitti is descended on his father s side to Dāṭhopatissa from whom he is descended on his mother s side through Lokita (v 41)

[3] P *selantara* lit rock interior (perhaps = rock cave) with reference to the name *Selantarasamuha* Cf *samūhetrā* in v 37a

[4] P *devapalli* Cf skr *palli* hut The whole passage is very *curious* We are told here of a *mūlatthāna* that is (according to v 39) of the position of a premier and highest counsellor (cf *mūlāmacca* 69 34 70 151) It is held by a bhikkhu who must be confirmed in it by a kind of oracle This confirmation again is granted by the devatās, another proof of the way in which Buddhism is interwoven with popular ideas

place him, if he has found favour with the deity, in the
leading position and when they protect Order and people, they 39
act according to the counsel of the ascetics who hold the
leading position.

By Prince Bodhi of the line of Dāṭhopatissa to Princess 40
Buddhā of like lineage conceived a daughter, Lokitā by name, 41
distinguished by most excellent marks. Afterwards she was
wedded to the able Moggallāna. She conceived by him four 42
children, Kitti, the princess Mittā, Mahinda and Rakkhita.
The eldest son (Kitti) was (already) in his thirteenth year a 43
plucky hero, and extremely skilled in the use of the bow.
Swayed by one thought alone: how shall I become possessed 44
of Laṅkā once I have rid it of the briers of the foe? he dwelt
in the village called Mūlasālā.

A powerful man known by the name of Buddharāja, quar- 45
relled at that time with the general Loka[1]. He fled in haste 46
to the district called Cuṇṇasālā and having there by every
means made subject to himself many people, such as Kitti and
others, he dwelt together with numerous warlike kindred at 47
the foot of the Malaya mountains where he was difficult to
reach. To him there came a distinguished astrologer[2] Saṃgha 48
by name, and portrayed the character of the prince (Kitti)
in favourable fashion. "The eldest son of the Great Lord 49
(Moggallāna), who bears the name of Kitti, carries on him
the marks of power and is gifted with insight and courage.
Even in Jambudīpa he would, I believe, be capable of uniting 50
the whole realm under one umbrella, how much more so in
the Island of Laṅkā!" When the other heard that, he made 51
the resolve to support the Prince and sent people to the
Prince. When the illustrious hero heard their message, he 52
for fear that they might hold him back, left the house without

[1] The Loka described in 57. 1 as *camūnātha*. W. inserts here the words: "who ruled Rohaṇa". That is not in the text, but it is correct as far as Loka resided in Kājaragāma. It is also not said that Buddharāja was a "prince".

[2] P. *saṃvaccharikanāyako*, lit. a chief of the s. Cf. skr. *sāṃvatsarika* BR., s. v. nr. 2.

53 his parents' knowledge, with nothing but his bow and seeing
all kinds of favourable signs, he prudently betook himself in
54 haste to the village of Sarīvaggapiṭṭhi While sojourning there,
the hero sent away his servants and captured the village
55 of Bodhivāla then in possession of the opposite party[1] There-
upon the arrogant general (Loka) sent his army thither; it sur-
56 rounded the village and opened fight[2] The prince who full
of impetuous courage, fought with his soldiers against them,
scattered them in all directions, as a stormy wind (scatters)
57 cotton He then betook himself, knowing the opportunity, to
the Cuṇṇasālā district and during his sojourn there brought
58 *the whole region of Malaya into his power Even now the*
general[3] sent off his army over and over again, but as he
59 could not gain the upper hand, he became furious A son of
the henchman Kitti[4] dwelling in Makkhakudrūsa, a powerful
60 man known by the name of Devamalla, now came hither, ac-
companied by kinsmen and friends, at the head of many people
dwelling in Rohaṇa, and with reverence sought out the Prince
61 (Kitti) He able and farfamed, at *the age of fifteen girt on*
62 his sword and demanded the dignity of ādipāda Thereupon
he betook himself with a mighty force to Hiraññamalaya and
63 built there on the Remuṇa rock *a stronghold Thither too the*
general[5] sent his army, but as he did not stay victorious in
64 battle, he gave up the idea of renewing the war. The ruler
Loka[6], the army's commander, now forsook this his world,

1 Namely of the general Loka

2 The dat *samgāmaya* with *samarabhi* (instead of the acc) is irregular

3 P *senāda* is like *senānī* a synonym of *senāpati* The title of "King is *never accorded to Loka*

4 See above 55 26, 31

5 P *camupati* stands in the text and v 64 *camūnātha*, both synonyms for *senāpati* (Loka)

6 In their list of Errata S and B correct *lokanātho* into *lokanāmo* That *is certainly wrong* Without doubt a pun is intended with *ca-mūnātho*, and the form *Lokanātha* corresponds to the *Lokesvara* of the Sinhalese sources Another pun is that with *loka* The word *is contained* in the name, in *lokam sakam* his world or his people and in *paraloka*

and in the sixth year of his reign his goal was the other world.

Now a Chief of the Kesadhātus[1], Kassapa by name, got 65
the upper hand of the people and carried on the government
in Rohaṇa. At the tidings of this the Coḷa general, armed 66
for war, set out from Pulatthinagara and marched against
Kājaragāma. But the Kesadhātu scattered the forces of the 67
Damiḷas in a battle, set up guards at the frontier of Rakkhapāsāṇa[2], and then the hero proud of his victory, returned 68
with his great army and entered Kājaragāma. When the vi- 69
gorous[3] Ādipāda (Kitti) heard all this, he quickly equipped
an army, to overwhelm the Kesadhātu. When the latter had 70
tidings of this he advanced full of pride with befitting troops
from Kājaragāma to Sippatthalaka[4]. But when the invincible 71
Prince (Kitti) at the head of many of the inhabitants of
Pañcayojana[5] and other districts drew near, he betook him- 72
self, perceiving that many of the dwellers in his own district
were averse from war, (and) believing that a battle here
would be difficult, to Khadiraṅgaṇi[6]. With a great army 73
the royal youth (Kitti) aged sixteen years, entered at once
free from all fear, into Kājaragāma. Having ruled Rohaṇa 74
six months, the Chief of the Kesadhātus full of bitterness,

[1] Here we meet for the first time with the remarkable expression so frequently used later of *kesadhātu*. W. translates *kesadhātunāyaka* by "the Chief of the Hair Relic". But *nāyaka* is used here in the same way as in *saṃvaccharikanāyaka*, v. 48, for in the sequel *kesadhātu* is used alone. Cf. on this title the "Introduction" III.

[2] W. suggests doubtfully Rakvāna.

[3] P. *sutthiradhātuko*. The word *dhātu* at the end of a bahuvrīhi compound often means "kind, nature, peculiarity, character" and is much, almost exclusively, used periphrastically. Thus in *samadhātuka* "of similar kind". JaCo. II. 31[22]; *kiliṭṭhadhātuka* "defiled" JaCo. I. 438[20]; *badhiradhātuka* "hard of hearing" JaCo. II. 63[13].

[4] See also 58. 7.

[5] Now Pasdun-Korale, east of Kalutara, in the province Sabaragamuva. The P. word *raṭṭha* is frequently used quite in the sense of the Sinh. *kōralē*.

[6] See also 58. 36.

75 marched thither to battle But the army of the royal youth (Kitti) engaged him in hard battle and the mighty one captured the head of the Chief of the Kesadhātus

76 Having reached the age of seventeen years, the Prince the glory of whose great fame had spread on every side, who was extraordinarily skilled in the use of the many expedients such as kindness and the like had freed the whole of Rohaṇa from the briers of the foe

Here ends the fifty-seventh chapter, called "The Subjugation of the Enemies of Rohaṇa", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

CHAPTER LVIII

THE ADVANCE TO ANURĀDHAPURA

The name Vijayabāhu[1] of the Prince wise in statecraft, 1
who now found himself in the position of yuvarāja, was known
everywhere. Gifted with abundant knowledge, he had the 2
drums beaten for his entering on the government and placing
numbers of his followers in befitting positions and applying 3
the four methods[2] of warriors for the destruction of the Coḷas
who were ravaging Rājaraṭṭha, he took up his abode there
(in Rohaṇa). When the Coḷa King heard of that, he sent off 4
his Senāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara, with army and
train. As Vijayabāhu recognised that the (Coḷa) general who 5

[1] Kitti adopts this name when he wins his claim to the throne. In the rock inscription of Ambagamuva (Bell, ASC. Ann. Rep. 1910—11 = III. 1915, p. 121, no. 196; Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 202 ff.) the king calls himself Sirisangbo Vijayabāhu. He names as his parents Abhā Salamevan and Dev Gon, names which seem to have been taken over mechanically from the Rāja-māligāva inscription of Polonnaruva on the introduction to which that of the Ambagamuva inscription rests (See note to 54. 7). Important for the history of the reign of Vijayabāhu I. is the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva dealt with by C. Rásanáyagam Mudaliyar in JRAS. C. Br. xxix, no. 77, 1924, p. 266 ff., and recently also by Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 242 ff.

[2] According to Abhp. 348 the *caturo upāyā* the four means of success are *bheda* "division (of the enemy)", *daṇḍa* "open war, offensive", *sāma* "friendly negotiations, treaty" and *dānāni* "gifts, bribes". The doctrine of the four *upāya* is also well known in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Mahābhārata, in the Amarakośa, in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, in Manu, 7. 109 (BR. s. v. *daṇḍa* 11). Finally they are enumerated in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra 2. 10, 28: *upāyāḥ sāmopapradānabhedadaṇḍāḥ* as a method of royal policy. See J. J. Meyer, Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 105.

had advanced close to Kājaragāma, could scarcely be defeated,
6 he withdrew into the mountain jungle The (Cola) general
plundered Kājaragāma in haste, but as he could not stay
7 there, he betook himself again to his province Thereupon
the Mahādipāda[1] came hastily from Malaya and besieged
8 Sippatthalaka[2] with strong forces The King (Vijayabāhu) sent
to the King in the Rāmañña[3] country numbers of people and
9 much costly treasure[4] Then arrived in the harbour many
ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandelwood and other
10 goods By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers
to him and with large forces at his command, he took up
his abode in Tambalagāma[5]
11 All the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha grew hostile to one
12 *another and paid no further tribute* The adversaries of the
Coḷa King full of arrogance, left his commands unheeded, ill-
treated the appointed officials and did what they pleased
13 When the Cola Monarch heard this, he was filled with rage
14 and he sent *off one of his henchmen with a great army*. The
latter landed in Mahātittha, slew many people here and there
15 *and subdued the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha* *Later on* he came
then, cruel in his commands, to Rohaṇa and fell upon it with

[1] The title mahādipāda belongs to Vijayabāhu in his position of yuvarāja

[2] See 57 70

[3] Name for Burma. Note that Vijayabāhu from now onwards is called *rājā*

[4] P *sāram dhanajātam* The word *sara* is here (as also in v 21) used as an adjective (see skr *sāra*, BR s v, 4), *dhanajāta* which is also used in v 10, is nearly always a mere paraphrase for *dhana*

[5] A Tambalagama lies (Census of Ceylon 1921, *II*, p 152) *in* the Hinidum Pattuva of the Galle District not far from Batuvangala on the upper Gin ganga If this is our Tambalagāma that would mean that the centre of gravity of Vijayabahu s influence was in the west of Rohaṇa, on the borders of Dakkhiṇadesa The fact that the troops which Kitti led against the Kesadhātu Kassapa came according to 57 71 chiefly from the Pañcayojana raṭṭha supports this It *is supported too* by the further *development of events* The Tambala mentioned 45 78 cannot be identified with the Tambalagāma of our passage

his army like the ocean which has burst its bounds[1]. Two 16
mighty men, Ravideva and Cala by name, became opponents
of the King (Vijayabāhu) and went over both of them, to the
Damiḷa commander. When the general saw them accompanied 17
by a great troop of adherents, he believed Rohaṇa would
shortly be in his power.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) the King (Vijayabāhu) 18
put up an entrenchment for the conquest of the Coḷas, on the
Paluṭṭha mountain[2] and took up his abode there. The Coḷa 19
army surrounded the rocks on all sides and a terrible fight
between the two armies took place. The King's soldiers 20
annihilated the Damiḷa army, pursued the fleeing general of
the Coḷa Sovereign and got possession of his head at the vil- 21
lage of Tambaviṭṭhi[3]. Taking with them all the captured
implements of war, together with draught animals and chariots 22
and all valuable treasures, they showed it (the head) to the

[1] I feel bound to keep to the text *ajjhottharittha senāya saṃbhinnavelo va sāgaro* as adopted by me in my edition. The fact of the second pāda having a syllable too much is of no account. See Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. xii. If one compares the MSS. it is almost certain in the first place, that *ajjhottharittha* and *saṃbhinna* are right, since they have been preserved in all groups of the MSS. The only question is as to what came between the two words. The Col. Ed. with *ajjhotthari saseno sa bhinna°* follows closely the MS. S 3. But what is remarkable is that this MS. is here quite isolated and differs also from S 7. This looks as if we had to do with an arbitrary alteration on the part of the copyist. And how is *tato* or *nato* in all the other MSS. to be explained? I think thus: In the archetype a *tato* was added by mistake to *senāya*, intended originally for *gantvāna* in pāda a. In group S 1, 2, 4 the word is inserted besides *senāya*, in S 6, 7 it has ousted this entirely.

[2] P. *Paluṭṭhapabbata*, identical with the Paluṭṭhagiri mentioned 55. 28. As this occurs here in association with Māragallaka (see Note to 48. 129), the mention of the Paluṭṭha mountain would take us to the west of Rohaṇa, to the borders of Dakkhiṇadesa. Mr. Hocart however is inclined to identify it with Palatupana, 8 miles East of Tissamahārāma. ASC. 1928, p. 17.

[3] If this is the Tambavita in the Paranakuru Korale of the Kegalla-District, the pursuit must have extended far to the north, into Dakkhiṇadesa. That is also not unlikely, for up to his occupation of Pulatthinagara Vijayabāhu evidently meets with no further resistance.

King and spake to him (thus) "It is time to march to Pu-
23 latthinagara" When the Monarch heard these words of his
followers he betook himself now with large forces to Pulatthi-
24 nagara When the Cola Sovereign heard of all these events
he was overcome with fury, and as he desired to capture the
25 Monarch (Vijayabahu) the hero went in all haste himself to
the harbour on the sea coast and sent a still larger army to
26 the Island of Lankā When the Ruler (Vijayabahu) heard
that he sent off his general with a great force to fight with
27 the Cola army The general marched to the neighbourhood
of Anurādhapura and gave the Damila host a fiery battle
28 There fell in this fight many warriors of the Monarch and
still more of the inhabitants of his kingdom came into the
29 power of the Damiḷas Thereupon the Monarch abandoned
Pulatthinagara and betook himself in haste to the district
30 called Villikabā Having removed the two officials who were
placed over this district, he took up his abode there, gathering
31 his soldiers On the tidings that the Cola general was pur-
suing him, he betook himself, aware of the right time[1], to
32 the rocky hill of Vātagiri[2] At the foot of this mountain he
built a stronghold and fighting, kept the Damilas three months
at bay

33 The younger brother of the Chief of the Kesadhatus[3] who
had been slain earlier in battle, had meanwhile gathered to-
34 gether a large troop of adherents and nursing wrath in his
heart at the slaying of his brother, he raised the whole di-
35 strict of Guttasala[4] in rebellion Thereupon the Sovereign of

[1] That is he knew well that the time for open resistance to the Colas had not yet come

[2] From 60 89 it is clear that Vatagiri was situated in the province of Dakkhiṇadesa Thus Vijayabahu retires not as one might expect, eastwards or south eastwards over the Mahaveliganga but to the south west Evidently he seeks to regain the base in the borders of *Rohaṇa* and Dakkhiṇadesa from which he started Vatagiri is no doubt the *mountain* Vakirigala in the Galboda korale of the Kegalla District Bell Rep. on the Kégalla District = ASC xix 1892 p 45

[3] See above 57 65 ff

[4] See note to 51 109

Laṅkā marched thither in haste with a large force and set
up an armed camp at the place called Maccutthala. Then when 36
he had driven his foe in fight out of the stronghold Khadiraṅ-
gaṇi[1], he chased him, still fighting, from Kubūlagalla. He 37
left his ample possessions together with wife and child as well
as his troops in the lurch and fled in haste to the province
occupied by the Coḷas. Thereupon the Lord of men (Vijaya- 38
bāhu) took to himself the whole of his possessions and betook
himself to Tambalagāma[2] where he erected a new stronghold.
In the course of time he went to the town called Mahānā- 39
gahula[3] and sojourned there arming his troops to fight with
the Coḷas. Thereupon the King summoned two of his hench- 40
men and sent them with large forces to Dakkhiṇadesa[4] to
subdue the inhabitants there. Another pair of able[5] officials 41
the Sovereign sent to the coast highroad[6] to destroy the arrog-

[1] See above 57. 72.

[2] After Vijayabāhu had protected his rear by subduing the rebellion in Guttasālā, he returns at first to the position which is to serve him as basis for his future operations (see note to 58. 10) and strengthens it by fortifications. He next betakes himself to the place which may now be looked upon as the capital of Rohaṇa, to make further preparations for the Coḷa war.

[3] According to native tradition we must look for *Mahānāgahula* on the lower Valave-ganga, N. W. of Ambalantota where to-day there are extensive rice-fields similar to those of Tissamahārāma (H. W. Codrington, Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth Century II, from a proof-slip which I owe to the courtesy of the author). In agreement with this is the statement in v. 10 of the Mānāvulu-sandeśa that the river on which the town stood was the *Vanavāhinī*. Mr. Jayaratana of the Colombo Museum drew my attention to this passage. The Commentary explains the name of the river by *vala-hoya*, which is the Valave-ganga.

[4] H. W. Codrington (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, JRAS. C. B. Nr. 75, 1922, p. 64) rightly stresses the fact that *dakkhiṇaṃ passaṃ* does not mean "southward" as translated by W. but is the same as *dakkhiṇaṃ desaṃ*.

[5] P. *kakkhaḷa* "hard" in a good sense, as much as firm, enduring, energetic.

[6] Vijayabāhu's strategy is clear. He attacks the position of the Coḷas from two sides: from Dakkhiṇadesa in the direction of Anurādhapura and eastwards from the mountains in the direction of Polonnaruva. The

42 ance of the Coḷas. The officials sent with large forces to Dakkhiṇadesa, took the stronghold at the village of Muhunnaru,
43 further Badalatthala, the stronghold at Vāpinagara, Buddha-
44 gāma, Tilagulla, Mahāgalla and Maṇḍagalla.[1] When later

coast highroad I would identify with the old road which avoiding the hill country, led from Mahāgama to Dastota or Mahagantota on the Mahaveliganga not far from Polonnaruva. I am inclined to look upon the embankment called Kalugalbamma which is crossed between Ekiriyankumbura and Mahaoya by the Passara-Batticaloa road as the remains of this road. The road does not run along the sea, it is true, but it runs from coast to coast, from Mahagama to Mahātittha. It is doubtful whether the southern part of this road led over Buttala. The Ratemahatmaya Bibile informed me that one can recognize the southern continuation of the Kalugalbämma further east at Kadiyangoda and that the road runs from here beside an old beaten elephant track direct to Mahāgama. At any rate the northern continuation of the Kalugalbämma does not lead to Mahiyangaṇa but leaving this to the left it seems to lead by Dolagalvela direct to the Mahavaliganga. Thus this highroad must be distinguished from that which runs from Mahagāma by way of Kataragama, Buttala, Medagama, Bibile to Mahiyangaṇa and from there along the Mahaveliganga towards the north. I myself found remains of this road in Bibile; other remains might perhaps come to light at Alut nuvara (Mahiyangana) behind the hospital. Vijayabahu apparently took advantage of a civil war raging at that time in the Cola country. It ended with the accession to the throne of Kulottunga Cola I in A. D. 1069—70. H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C. p. 56.

[1] The topographical identification of the greater part of these localities we owe H. W. CODRINGTON in the treatise cited above (note to 58. 39). Of the names occurring here the following are mentioned elsewhere: 1) Badalatthala 2) Buddhagama 3) Tilagulla and 4) Mahagalla. Muhunnaru and Vapinagara are doubtful. Badalatthala has been identified by CODRINGTON (following PARKER) with Batalagoda in the Ihalavisideke Korale West of the Kurunegala District. STOREY on the strength of the mention in an inscription of the Galgam vehera (ASC 1908 = S. P. VI 1913 p. 14 15) considers Buddhagāma to be Menik lena (see ASC 1908 = VI 1913 p. 13 ff.) in the Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattu of the District Matale North where the two roads leading from Kurunegala and from Nalanda to Dambul approach one another and CODRINGTON supports this assumption. As to Tilagulla Mr CODRINGTON refers me by letter to Talagalle Ela in the Katuwanna Korale of the Kurunegala District. According to 68. 44 it is at least certain that it was situated in Dakkhiṇadesa. For Mahāgalla see note to 41. 3.

they had also taken Anurādhapura, they brought the whole
kingdom into their power and pushed forward to Mahātittha.
The two generals sent out to the coast highroad, plundered 45
Chagāma[1] and other armed camps here and there, and when 46
later they had got near to Pulatthinagara, they sent mes-
sengers to the King that he should speedily come hither.
When the Ruler heard of the extraordinary deeds of heroism 47
accomplished by the generals whom he had sent in two
directions, he aware of the time being propitious, equipped 48
his whole army and experienced in methods of war, he left
the town (Mahānāgahula) to exterminate the Coḷas. During 49
the march the Sovereign set up a camp on the (Mahāvāluka)-
gaṅgā not far from the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa[2] and took up his
abode there for a time. Afterwards the great hero aware of 50
the opportunity, betook himself to the neighbourhood of
Pulatthinagara and set up here an extremely strong forti-
fication. But all the warlike, valiant Coḷas who were to be 51
found here and there, gathered together in Pulatthinagara to
make war. The Coḷas came forth from the town and engaged 52
outside in a great battle, but they were beaten and returned
to the town. Then having secured all the gates of the town, 53
they carried on with great strenuousness a terrifying fight
from bastions and towers. For a month and a half the great 54
army of the Monarch kept the town surrounded but could
not subdue it. The great heros, the great fighters, the great 55
warriors of the Great King, the mighty ones with great pride,
Ravideva, Cala[3] and the others scaled the walls, broke furi- 56

Finally Maṇḍagalla is according to Mr. C. = Mahamadagalla in Hiriyala Hatpattu N. E. of Kurunegala. A Madagala is also marked on sheet F. 9 of the map (scale one mile to the inch) 5 miles S. S. W. of Anurādhapura as name of a mountain. All the evidence points, at any rate, to the progress of the operations against Anurādhapura from South to North through Dakkhiṇadesa.

[1] Chagāma or Chaggāma, it seems to me, has not been identified with certainty. That it was situated in eastern Rohaṇa is clear from 75. 3.

[2] See note to 51. 74.

[3] It was stated in v. 16 that these two generals had gone over to

ously into the town and at once exterminated all the Damiḷas
57 root and branch[1]. After King Vijayabāhu had thus achieved the victory, he the discerning one, had the drums of his
58 dominion beaten[2] in the town. But when the Ruler of the Coḷas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: the Sīhalas are (too) strong, and sent out no further army.
59 When the hero the discerning one, who had utterly destroyed the best of the proud Coḷas, had placed the whole of Rājaraṭṭha on a sure foundation[3], he the best of kings, greatly rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anurādhapura[4].

Here ends the fifty-eighth chapter, called "The Advance to Anurādhapura", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Coḷas. It would seem that later they again acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayabāhu. Or we have to do with a mistake of the compiler.

[1] P. *mūlaghaccaṃ aghātayuṃ*. I think we have to take *mūlaghaccaṃ* as adverb. Cf. Dh. 250 *m. samūhataṃ* "radically removed", as also *m. har* D. III. 67[12] ff., 68[1]. Of the overthrow of the Damiḷas by Vijayabāhu the Ambagamuva inscription (see note to 58. 1) says: "through his own courage he drove away the whole darkness of the Damiḷa forces and brought the whole of the Island of Laṅkā under his umbrella" (line 23).

[2] I. e. he made known by beat of drum that he had ascended the throne.

[3] P. *susādhu* (adv.) *ṭhapitākhilarājaraṭṭho*. We have here no doubt in *Rājaraṭṭha* the name of the province freed from the Damiḷas. See note to 55. 22.

[4] The fact that the King entered Anurādhapura is mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva line 7—8; cf. note to 58. 1.

CHAPTER LIX

THE BESTOWAL OF FAVOURS

With the protection of Laṅkā in the vicinity of the sea 1
the King charged powerful followers, acknowledged warriors,
in regular turn[1]. Since for the festival of the royal conse- 2
cration[2] a pāsāda and many other things had to be prepared,
he (likewise) charged one of his followers with this and after 3
he had there[3] done reverence to the various places deserving
of honour, he returned, after a sojourn of three months, to
Pulatthinagara.

A troop leader known by the name of Ādimalaya rebelled 4
quite openly against the Monarch and came, the deluded one,
hither with all his troops to fight, as far as the village known 5
by the name of Andu, in the vicinity of the town. The Ruler 6
of Laṅkā marched thither, destroyed the haughty one[4] and
returned to Pulatthinagara after bringing his troops into
his power.

From the time that he was yuvarāja, the wise Prince, 7
that best of men, had seventeen years chronicled in writing[5].

[1] I read *paṭipāṭiṃ* and take the accus. in an adverbial sense. His followers had to take over alternately the protection of the coast. The Col. Ed. has *paṭipattiṃ* and W. accordingly translates: "having (before) instructed them in their duties".

[2] I should prefer now to put *abhisekamaṅgalatthaṃ* in the oratio recta.

[3] Namely in Anurādhapura.

[4] Pun on *uddharitvā*, *uddhataṃ*. For the meaning of "annihilate" cf. skr. *har* + *ud*, BR., 8.

[5] The passage is important, since it shows that annals were kept at court of the events during each year of the reign. The narrative of Vijayabāhu's reign bears in particular a strongly annalistic character.

8 Having betaken himself hereupon to Anurādhapura and well versed in custom, had enjoyed the high festival of the coro-
9 nation after the manner of tradition, keeping not to evil but keeping firmly to pious action, he, secure[1] (in the royal
10 dignity), had the eighteenth year chronicled Thereupon he betook himself to splendid Pulatthinagara and dwelt there,
11 known by the name of Sirisamghabodhi He invested his next youngest brother Virabāhu with the dignity of uparāja and distinguished him in the customary way, by making over to
12 him the province of Dakkhiṇadesa On his youngest brother Jayabāhu the Prince[2] conferred the dignity of an ādipāda and
13 bestowed on him the province of Rohana But on all his ministers he bestowed office according to merit and directed them to collect the dues in the kingdom in fitting manner
14 The administration of justice which had long lain low, the Sovereign a fount of pity, carried out himself, keeping to the law, with justice

15 While now the Ruler of men having rooted out the heaped up briers of numerous foes, ruled his realm of Lanka ever in
16 most excellent fashion, three brothers the Head of the umbrella bearers, the President of the Court of Justice and the Chief
17 of the merchants[3] became hostile to the King and betook themselves, in flight, to Jambudipa In the nineteenth year
18 they landed again in Lankā Together they soon roused re- volt in the province of Rohaṇa the district of Malaya and
19 the whole of Dakkhiṇadesa The prudent (Prince) marched to Rohaṇa and the Malaya district, slew here and there many
20 enemies and when he had thoroughly pacified the country[4],

Cf 57 43 61 73 76 58 18 59 59 9 17 10 6 45 is also the chronological summary of WICKREMASINGHE EZ II 207 f It is noteworthy too that the king's coronation is celebrated in the anciently sacred town of Anuradhapura although Pulatthinagara is the capital

[1] Pun on *atthito suttthito susanthito*

[2] P *Laduja*, the same as *khattiya* because the caste of the Khattiya issued from the arms of God Brahman

[3] P *chattagāhakanatha dhammagehanāyaka setthinatha*

[4] P *tam nāmayitvā Rohanam tattha Malayamandala*

and appointed officials there, he, the able one, advanced him-
self with great forces to Dakkhiṇadesa. The hero there sent 21
on a general of the lineage of the brother of Samaṇī[1], cap-
tured his foes in bitter fight, had them impaled and after 22
freeing Laṅkā from the briers (of the rebels) he returned to
Pulatthinagara which was now devoid of all fear[2].

At that time the royal consort of Jagatīpāla[3] who dwelt 23
in the Coḷa Kingdom, had escaped with her youthful daughter
Līlāvatī by name, from the power of the Coḷas, had embarked 24
in haste, landed in the Island of Laṅkā and sought out the
Sovereign of Laṅkā. When the King heard the story of her 25
lineage and saw from that that she was of irreproachable
descent, he had Līlāvatī consecrated as his mahesī. The Ma- 26
hesī conceived by the King a daughter and the Ruler gave
her the name of Yasodharā. Together with the province of 27
Merukandara the King gave his daughter to Vīravamma. She
conceived two daughters. The elder received the same name 28
as her grandmother[4], Sugalā by name was the younger of the
two. The King wishful for the continuance of his line, fetch- 29
ed from the Kāliṅga country the charming young princess
of the royal family of Kalinga, Tilokasundarī by name, and 30
had her consecrated as his mahesī[5]. She conceived five 31
daughters: Subhaddā, Sumittā, Lokanāthā, Ratanāvalī and
Rūpavatī and a son Vikkamabāhu, furnished with the marks 32

[1] I believe that by *Samaṇī* the foster mother of the Buddha, Mahāpajāpatī, is meant. As she was according to the Cullavagga X. 1 (=Vin. II. 253 ff.), the first woman to receive the *upasampadā* she can be described as "the Nun" pure and simple. The general (*sacira*) belonged thus to the family of Gotama.

[2] Or with the Col. Ed. *nirātaṅkaṃ* "free of harm". The MSS. vary. W. refers the word as predicative object, like *vigatakaṇṭakaṃ* to *Laṅkaṃ*. From the position of the words it seems to me more correct to combine *nirāsaṅkaṃ* with the following *Pulatthinagaraṃ*.

[3] See 56. 15.

[4] Like her *mātāmahī*, the mother of her mother. She was called therefore, Līlāvatī.

[5] Vijayabāhu had, therefore, two mahesīs, Līlāvatī (v. 25) and Tilokasundarī.

of future power Now that he had obtained increase of off-
33 spring, his wives won the King's heart[1] Of the other women
of the court, except the wives of equal birth[2], none concei-
ved by the Monarch a fruit of the womb
34 Now one day as the King surrounded by the throng of
his courtiers, gazed on each of his daughters standing there
35 and, versed in signs, perceived on none of his other daughters
except on Ratanāvali the sign indicative of the birth of a son
36 (himself) furnished with the signs of power, seized by loving
emotion, he called Ratanāvali to him, kissed her on the head,
37 and with tender joy spake to her thus "This thy body shall
be the place for the birth of a son[3] who will surpass all
38 former and future monarchs in glorious qualities, generosity,
wisdom and heroism, who will be able to keep Lankā ever in
39 safety[4] and united under one umbrella, who will be in perfect
wise a patron of the Order, and who will display an abundant
40 and fine activity" Though repeatedly entreated by the Coḷa
Monarch, the King proud of his family, would not give him
41 his younger sister On the contrary, he fetched the Paṇḍu
King who came of an unblemished line[5], and wedded to him
his royal sister Mittā by name who had been born after him
42 She bore three sons, Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha by name,
43 and him who was called Sirivallabha (His daughter) Subhaddā
the Ruler gave with ample dowry to Vīrabāhu and Sumittā
44 to Jayabāhu[6]. To Mānābharaṇa he gave his daughter Ratanā-

[1] I believe that *harantā* which all MSS have, should be separated into *haran tā* By *tā* are meant the two queens Līlāvatī and Tilokasundarī who have borne children to the King There is no need to change the text

[2] That is of course the two Mahesīs The word *itthāgāra*, lit. "women's house' = Harem women is used for the inmates like the German "Frauenzimmer'.

[3] A prophecy concerning Parakkamabāhu the Great, the future son of Ratanāvalī

[4] The Col Ed has here *nirāsankam* contrary to all the MSS while in v 22 it has *nirātankam*

[5] See below note to 63 15

[6] Vīrabāhu and Jayabāhu were younger brothers of Vijayabāhu

valī, the one with the name Lokanāthā to Kittisirimegha (to
wife). As the one called Rūpavatī had died, he gave to Siri- 45
vallabha the princess called Sugalā. When he beheld the 46
princes Madhukaṇṇava, Bhīmarāja and Balakkāra, kinsmen of
the Mahesī (Tilokasundarī), who had come from Sīhapura[1],
the Monarch found pleasure in them and granted each of them 47
befitting maintenance. All of them having enjoyed such honour 48
and distinction, dwelt ever loyal to the Ruler, where they
pleased. The younger sister of these princes, Sundarī by name[2], 49
he, concerned for the continuance of his house, gave to
Vikkamabāhu (to wife). Further he also gave Vikkamabāhu 50
the excellent Līlāvatī together with (befitting) income, taking
pleasure in the welfare of his kindred.

Thus caring for those belonging to him, full of riches, 51
above all bent on kindness, he did what served the good of
his kindred and what at the same time was politically wise.

Here ends the fifty-ninth chapter, called "The Bestowal of Favours", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Sīhapura is the town which according to the legend (cf. Mhvs. 6. 35) was founded in Lāḷa by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north on the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from Mhvs. 6. 1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutiā Nāgpur to the west of Bengal, is still called Singhbhūm.

[2] All the MSS. have the form *Sunārī* with the single exception of S 7, which has *Sundarī*. The latter is confirmed by an inscription. In the rock inscription of Dimbulagala (EZ. II. 184 ff., 194 ff.) the Queen calls herself Sundaramahadevī, consort of the King Vikumbā (i. e. Vikkamabāhu) and mother of Gaja-bāhu-deva. In the course of the inscription she refers to a meritorious work which she had performed in the reign of her husband's predecessor Jayabāhu.

CHAPTER LX

CARE FOR THE LAITY AND FOR THE ORDER

1 The Ruler chose people of good family whom he had all
around him[1] and, as was customary, charged them with his
2 protection[2] In Pulatthinagara he had a high and strong
wall built, provided with many bastions, well faced with stucco,
3 defended round about with a long, broad and deep trench and
equipped with high parapets[3] difficult for the foe to reduce
4 As the number of the bhikkhus was not sufficient to make the
chapter full for the (holding of the) ceremony of admission into
5 the Order and other acts, the Ruler of men who had at heart the
continuance of the Order, sent to his friend, the Prince Anuruddha[4]
6 in the Rāmañña country messengers with gifts and had fetched
ed thence bhikkhus who had thoroughly studied the three

[1] P *sabbe samadiya*, overlooked in W s translation

[2] They were his permanent bodyguard P *yathācāram* "as was customary like the skr *yathācaram*, with the same meaning BR, s v

[3] P *patthandila* The word occurs again M II 155 as the designation of a part of a hermitage and in the combination *dile cankamano* The skr *sthandila* = *pa tthandila* means 'a level floor, bare floor' What *patthandila* is in a fortification cannot be determined Unfortunately the descriptions which Kauṭalya s Artha-śāstra 2 3 21, gives of the con struction of a fortress, are so obscure and difficult that they do not help us further

[4] King Anuruddha of Burma the national hero of the Burmese, was crowned in the year 1010 (PHAYRE, Hist of Burma, p 22) There are chronological difficulties about Anuruddha s being the contemporary of Vijayabāhu I The assumption is probably an arbitrary one on the part of the author of our part of the Mahāvaṃsa or of his source That Vijayabāhu fetched bhikkhus from Burma is confirmed by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva mentioned above (note to 58, 1) The fact is also related in Pūjāv. Rājāv and Nik s

Piṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other vir-
tues, (and) acknowledged as theras. After distinguishing them 7
by costly gifts, the King had the ceremonies of world-re-
nunciation and of admission into the Order repeatedly per-
formed by them and the three Piṭakas together with the com- 8
mentary frequently recited and saw to it that the Order of
the Victor which had declined in Laṅkā again shone brightly.
Within Pulatthinagara he had many charming vihāras built 9
at different places[1], made bhikkhus who belonged to the 10
three fraternities[2], take up their abode there and gladdened
them by abundant (gifts of the) four necessaries. After buil- 11
ding a vihāra beautiful by reason of its threshold pillar[3],
provided with wall and trench, beautified by a splendid five-
storeyed pāsāda, well equipped with charming rows of dwel- 12
lings round about, filled with people[4], provided with a roomy,
superb, sumptuous gateway[5], he, holding precious above all 13
things the three (sacred) objects, made it over to the bhikkhus
dwelling in the three fraternities. For their support with 14
food he granted to the community the whole district of Āḷi-
sāra[6] together with the canal diggers[7] dwelling there. To 15
several hundred bhikkhus he assigned dwellings there, sup-
plying them regularly with the four necessaries in ample

[1] P. *padesasmiṃ tahiṃ tahiṃ*, equivalent to *tasmiṃ tasmiṃ padese.*

[2] See below note to 60. 56.

[3] It is doubtful whether *eḷakatthambha* is to be understood as a dvandva or as a tatpuruṣa compound. At any rate what is meant is the whole frame of the entrance gate on which great care was expended in the buildings of Ceylon.

[4] What is meant probably are the monastery servants who were present in great numbers.

[5] P. *gopura* here probably the main gateway of the whole establishment.

[6] Now Elahera in the Matale District, N. E. of Nalanda on the Ambanganga. Bell, ASC. 1910-11 = X. 1914, p. 42; ASC. 1911-12 = III. 1915, p. 66.

[7] P. *nettika* "one who makes conduits for irrigating rice-fields" (Childers). Cf. *udakaṃ hi nayanti nettikā* Dh. 80, 145; Therag. 19; M. II. 105[5]. These people had to keep in order the rice fields granted to the monastery. W.'s translation "the chiefs of the people who dwelt there" is wrong.

16 measure After building for the Tooth Relic a beautiful and
costly temple[1] he instituted permanently for the Tooth Relic a
17 great festival Holding himself aloof from intercourse with a
large circle[2], he translated the Dhammasangani every morning
18 in the beautiful preaching-hall[3] While instituting many offerings
of sweet-smelling savours, flowers and the like with dance
and so forth, he was wont, joined with him in faith, to wor-
19 ship the Enlightened One with bowed head The many scho-
lars[4] who came from Jambudipa and who were worthy of a
gift, the mighty Monarch who was a hero in giving, gladdened
20 with gifts of money For the preachers of the true doctrine
he instituted offerings of divers kinds, and rejoicing ever at
the merits of the doctrine, made them teach the true doc-
21 trine Thrice he dispensed alms to the poor of a weight
equal to that of his body[5] and on the Uposatha day he kept
22 the Uposatha vow in blameless fashion Every year the So-
vereign instituted a Dandissara offering[6], he had the Tipitaka
23 copied and presented it to the bhikkhu community By the
sending of costly pearls, precious stones and other jewels,
he reverenced, sacrificing many times over, the sacred Bodhi
Tree in Jambudipa

24 Envoys sent by the Kannata Monarch[7] and by the Cola
25 King came hither with rich presents They sought out the
Monarch He was greatly pleased thereat and after rendering
26 both embassies what was their due, he sent at first[8] with the

[1] Confirmed by the Tamil inscription cited above 58 1

[2] P *ganasamganika* the same meaning as DhCo 4 143[13] here a pun on *dhammasangani*

[3] P *dhammamandira* synonym for *dhammasala*

[4] P *suri*, plur *surayo* At the end of a compound Mhvs 85 44 with the meaning 'skilful in' etc I S g *surina* Mhvs 26 23

[5] Confirmed again by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva 1 11

[6] The origin of the name is unknown All we know from parallel passages (52 3, 53 30) is that it was alms dispensed to wandering beggars and artists

[7] See note to 55 12

[8] P *tesu* (i e of the two embassies) *ado* (at first) The envoys of the Cola king were thus at first returned

Kaṇṇāṭa messengers his own envoys to Kaṇṇāṭa with choice
gifts. But the Coḷas maimed the noses and ears of the Sīhala 27
messengers horribly when they entered their country[1]. Thus 28
disfigured they returned hither and told the King everything
that had been done to them by the Coḷa King. In flaming 29
fury Vijayabāhu in the midst of all his courtiers had the
Damiḷa envoys summoned and gave them the following message
for the Coḷa king. "Beyond ear-shot[2], on a lonely island in 30
the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our
arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole 31
forces of thy kingdom and of mine a battle shall be fought
at a spot to be determined by thee: exactly in the manner I 32
have said it shall ye report to your master". After these
words he dismissed the envoys clad in women's apparel in 33
haste to the Coḷa King, then he betook himself with his army
to Anurādhapura. To the seaports Mattikāvāṭatittha[3] and 34
Mahātittha he sent two generals to betake themselves to the
Coḷa kingdom and begin the war[4]. While the generals were 35
procuring ships and provisions in order to send the troops to
the Coḷa kingdom, then, in the thirtieth year (of the King's
reign), the division of the troops called Velakkāra[5] revolted as 36

[1] On the way into the Kaṇṇāṭa-country.

[2] Some MSS. have *sonaṃ vinā*, some *sotaṃ vinā* which comes to the same thing *n* and *t* being constantly mistaken for each other. I keep to *sotaṃ vinā* which gives excellent sense, but believe that we must derive *sota* from the Skr. *śrotra* rather than from *srotas*. The alteration of the Col. Ed. into *senaṃ vinā* would merely be tautological.

[3] The name means "clay-pit landing-place". The place is otherwise never mentioned.

[4] Nothing is said about any answer of the Coḷa King to Vijayabāhu's challenge.

[5] In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva the Veḷaikkāra are mentioned as the troops which had taken over the guarding of the Tooth Relic. They were a group of soldiers or a military clan and accompanied, as we learn from inscriptions of Southern India (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 247), King Rājendra Coḷa I to Ceylon. Since that time they had great influence in the Island, serving as mercenaries to the king. According to Rásanáyagam Mudaliyar (JRAS. C. Br. xxix, nr. 77, 1924, p. 268 f.) they took the vow to kill themselves if any evil befalls

37 they did not want to go thither. They slew the two generals
and like rutting elephants in their unbridledness, they plun-
38 dered the country round Pulatthinagara. They captured the
younger sister of the King with her three sons[1] and burned
39 down with violence the King's palace. The King left the
town and betook himself in haste to Dakkhiṇadesa and having
40 hidden all his valuable possessions on the Vātagiri[2] rook, he
advanced together with the Uparāja Vīrabahu, of lion-like
41 courage, and surrounded by a great force, to Pulatthinagara
where after a sharp fight he shortly put the assembled troops
42 to flight. Placing them around the pyre on which were
laid the remains of the murdered generals, he had the recreant
43 leaders of the troops, their hands bound fast to their backs,
chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames bla-
44 zing up around them. The Ruler having (thus) executed there
the ringleaders of the rebels[3], freed the soil of Laṅkā every-
where from the briers (of the rebels)

45 The King did not lose sight of the aim he had set him-
self of fighting with the Cola (King), and in the forty-fifth
46 year (of his reign) he marched with war-equipped troops to
the port on the sea and stayed there some time awaiting his
47 arrival But as the Cola (King) did not appear, the King
dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulatthinagara and resided
there a considerable time.

48 The tanks Mahāheli, Sareheru and Mahādattika by name,
49 Kaṭunnarū, Paṇḍavāpi and Kalalahallika by name, the tank

the king Although their disloyalty was punished by Vijayabāhu with bloody severity, rebellions of the Velakkāras took place even at the time of Gajabāhu (63 24 ff) and Parakkamabāhu I (74 44 ff)

[1] The Princess Mittā with her sons Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha. See 59 41-2

[2] See 58 31 with note

[3] In *māninam gāmaṇī* the latter must be taken as acc pl, *the former* as gen. pl. *Mānin* "proud, arrogant" is evidently the same as "unbridled, rebellious", as noun "rebel". W. translates "moreover, the king laid waste the lands of the haughty nobles who dwelt there". But v. 44 still evidently refers to the execution of the rebel leaders

Eraṇḍegalla and the Dīghavatthuka tank, the tanks Maṇḍavā-
ṭaka and that of Kittaggabodhipabbata; the tanks Valāhassa, 50
Mahādāragalla and Kumbhīlasobbhaka, the Pattapāsāṇa tank
and the tank called Kāṇa[1]: these and many other tanks whose 51
dams had burst, he had (newly) dammed up, since his efforts
were ever directed to the welfare of the distressed. By build- 52
ing dams here and there on brooks, rivers and streams the
Sovereign made his kingdom fruitful. While damming up 53
(anew) the damaged Tilavatthuka canal he filled the Maṇihīra
tank with water. His own Mahesī who disturbed the peaceful 54
life of the vihāras, he deprived of her revenues and had her
led out into the town with an iron collar[2], conciliated the 55
community and thus testified to the world his reverence for
the Order. In the three fraternities in Mahāgāma he restored 56
the relic shrines[3] destroyed by the Coḷas[4] and likewise the

[1] Of these lakes several have been already mentioned, others are mentioned later. The Mahādattika is mentioned 38. 50 under Dhātusena, the Valāhassa 37. 185 under Upatissa II., as well as 42. 67 under Aggabodhi II. The Pattapāsāṇa was built according to 41. 61 by Moggallāna by the damming-up of the Kadambanadī which flows past Anurādhapura. The Kāṇa which is mentioned under Sena I. and II., 50. 72 and 51. 73, must probably be looked for in the vicinity of the Mihintale mountain. Amongst the many tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu I. which are enumerated 79. 31 ff. the Mahādatta, the Valāhassa, the Kumbhīlasobbhaka, the Mahādāragalla, the Pattapāsāṇa and the Kāṇa recur. Lastly, among the lakes made or restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa before his ascent of the throne (68. 43 ff.) are the Kaṭunnarū and the Kalalahallika (cf. also 70. 73, 163). The Paṇḍavāpi according to 68. 39 was enlarged by him. This must surely be the Paṇḍāvāva in the North-West Province, about 16 miles N. W. of Kurunegala, notwithstanding Parker's opinion against it. See Codrington I. 70.

[2] Lit.: "by having her caught by the neck". It would seem that the Queen had infringed the right of asylum (abhaya) of the vihāra.

[3] P. *dhātugabbha*, equivalent to Sinh. *dāgaba*, *dagoba*, *dagāba*. The word occurs already in the Mhvs. 31. 94. Note that Pulatthinagara [illegible] and Mahāgāma had each its three monastic fraternities [illegible] note to 41. 97) just as Anurādhapura.

[4] Refers probably to the plundering of Rohaṇa by the [illegible] Mahinda V. See 55. 15 ff.

57 two Thūpārāmas[1] At the place of his mother's fire-burial as
also at that of his father in Budalaviṭṭhi he erected five large
58 dwelling houses (for bhikkhus) The vihāras Paṇḍavāpi, Pāṭhina,
Rakkhacetiyapabbata, likewise Maṇḍalagiri, and the Madhutthala-
59 vihāra, the vihāra called Uruvela and the vihāra in Devanagara,
the vihāra Mahiyaṅgaṇa and the cave temple Sītalaggāma,
60 the Jambukola-vihāra and Girikaṇḍaka, the Kuruindiya-vihāra
61 and the cave temple of Jambukola, the Bhallātaka-vihāra and
Paragāmaka, the vihāra called Kāsagalla and the vihāra called
62 Candagiri, the Velagāmi-vihāra and that in the village Mahā-
sena by name, the vihāra in Anurādhapura and the temple
63 of the Bodhi Tree (there) these and many other vihāras[2]
which had fallen into decay, the Sovereign restored and granted
64 villages to every single one of them With the wish that all

[1] That the Thuparāma of Anuradhapura and that of Pulatthinagara are meant is not at all certain According to the wording of the text — Mahagāma stands at the beginning of the whole verse — one would expect the Thūpārāmadvayam to be in Mahāgāma

[2] Of these viharas that of Paṇḍavapi lies without doubt near the lake mentioned 60 48 Whether the Rakkhacetiyapabbata is identical with the Rakkha vihāra of 44 51 remains doubtful Cf note 46 29 for Maṇḍalagiri Madhutthala is mentioned 75 147 as a fortified place (*lugga*) and this is identified by CODRINGTON (Notes on *Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century*, II) with Migoda a hamlet not far from Urubokka (Moravak Korale Matara District) The Census of 1921 (II 142) mentions a Migoda (and also a Madugoda) in the Talpe Pattuva of the Galle District That sinh *goda* is the equivalent of *thala* in the Pali form of place names in the Mhvs is a discovery whose credit belongs to CODRINGTON Devanagara is the present Dondra One could also translate v 59 as follows 'the vihāra called Uruvela in Devanagara Jambukolavihara and Jambukolalena are the Dimbul monastery 26 miles N of Matale and its celebrated rock temple The Bhallataka vihara was built according to 38 47 by Dhatusena Kuruindiya might be identical with the Kurunda mentioned in 42 15 as a foundation of Aggabodhi I I believe the Candagiri vihāra to be the monastery belonging to the Sandagiri Tope in Tissamahārama A Mahāsena vihara is mentioned 48 8 and 51 76 a village Mahāsenāgāma 75 103 Mahiyaṅgana is known see 51 74 note The other viharas are only named in our passage The reading kasagalla is doubtful

the people who trod the difficult road to worship the foot-
print of the Sage on the Samantakūṭa[1] mountain might not 65
become weary, he granted for the dispensing of gifts, the
village called Gilīmalaya[2] where there were rice fields and
the like, and had rest-houses built on the road past Kadaligāma 66
and on the path from the province of Hūva[3] hither, granting
villages to each of these (for providing maintenance) and after 67
having the words "In future kings shall not take possession
of these" engraved on a stone pillar the Monarch set this up.
The villages of Antaraviṭṭhi, Saṃghātagāma and Sirimaṇḍagala- 68
gāma he granted to the Lābhavasin (bhikkhus)[4]. To the 69
Vantajīvaka bhikkhus[5] he gave the four necessaries and to
their kindred he granted maintenance villages. In the cool 70
season he gave to the bhikkhus abundantly of rugs and char-
coal pans[6], as well as of all kinds of medicine. He dispensed, 71
the discerning (Prince), to the bhikkhu community in careful
fashion over and over again all articles of necessity and of

[1] The old Mahāvaṃsa has only Sumanakūṭa as name for Adam's Peak. In the second part Samantakūṭa is the form used. From chapter 86 onwards the old name appears with it and is used by preference.

[2] Gilīmalaya situated in the Kuruviti Korale of the Ratnapura District (Census of C. 1921, II. 476), is an example of resumption of a royal grant in Ceylon. Under the Kandyan government it was a royal village. H. W. Codrington, H. C., p. 54.

[3] Kadaligāma is without doubt the present Kehelgamuva (Codrington) north of Adam's Peak, situated on the small river that joins the Maskeliya a little farther down. The river then joins the Kelanigaṅga at Yatiyantota. The sacred mountain was climbed from the North by way of Kadaligāma. From the East the path of approach led through the province *Hūva*, i. e. now Uva. The inscription of Ambagamuva (note to 58. 1) describes minutely all that the King did for the famous place of pilgrimage and so confirms the content of our passage.

[4] See note to 54. 27. Of the three villages mentioned Antaraviṭṭhi occurs also in 61. 46 and 70. 322. It was situated in Rājaraṭṭha apparently not far from Pulatthinagara.

[5] Evidently an ascetic sect similar to the Lābhavāsins just mentioned. The name means "one who has thrown away his life".

[6] P. *aggikapalla* JaCo. vi. 8^{18} (D. Andersen and H. Smith).

72 the necessaries he gave eight-fold[1] The many villages in
Rohaṇa granted by former kings, for the feeding of the com-
73 munity, to the Lābhavāsin bhikkhus and to those who made
it their duty to sacrifice to the cetiyas and other sacred ob-
jects, did he further without exception decree for the
74 same purpose To cripples the strong one gave strong oxen
(for work) and to crows, dogs and other animals he dispensed
75 food, great in pity To many authors of poems he gave, him-
self an eminent poet, great possessions with heritable villages[2]
76 Did he hear verses composed by the sons of royal officials
and by others, this prince of poets gave them befitting gifts
77 of money To the blind and the lame he granted villages
separately and of that which was formerly spent for the shrines
78 of the gods[3] he took nothing away To women of good
family who were unprotected or widowed, the Sovereign gave
79 according to their deserts, villages, food and clothing The
highly gifted King stood in the composition of Sīhala poems
80 at the head of the Sīhala poets The Uparāja (Vīrabāhu)[4] who
hung with reverence on the beautiful Baddhaguṇa-vihāra, had
the cetiya here that had been destroyed by the Coḷas restored
81 Generous as he was[5], he then made over to this superb vihāra
82 fine villages and instituted regular sacrificial festivals Near
to the forest[6] which lay close to this vihāra, he had a tank
83 built which was solid and held abundant water In the
Kappūramūlāyatana[7] the King's daughter Yasodharā built

[1] The *aṭṭha parikkhārā* of the bhikkhu are the alms bowl, the three garments, girdle razor, needle and water sieve For the *catupaccaya* on the other hand, see 37 76 note

[2] P *paveṇigama* is a village that remains in possession of the family The word is formed like *paveṇirajja* DhCo I 169[6]

[3] The temples of the Hindu deities are meant

[4] See 59 11 60 40

[5] P *muttacāgī* as otherwise *muttacāgo* (Skr *muktatyāga*) S I 226[20], A I 226[12], DhCo I 421[19], Mhvs 51. 3

[6] P *upacaravana* Cf PTS P D s v *upacāra* 4 entrance access i e immediate vicinity or neighbourhood

[7] As *ayatana* at the end of names is used occasionally as *vihāra*

a massive, charming and large image house, and in the Se- 84
lantarasamūha(-vihāra)[1] she, created Queen[2] by the King,
erected a beautiful, lofty pāsāda which received the name of
Pasāda[3]. In the same way many courtiers and women of his 85
harem amassed many merits in many ways.

While thus the Sovereign of Laṅkā reigned over Laṅkā, 86
the Uparāja (Vīrabāhu), a man of excellent character, was
brought by cruel death into his power. After performing all 87
the funeral rites for him, he granted the dignity of uparāja,
at the counsel of the bhikkhus, to Jayabāhu[4]. The rank of 88
ādipāda he bestowed on Vikkamabāhu, and when later a son
was born to Vikkamabāhu, known by the name of Gajabāhu,
the King having taken counsel with his ministers, made over to 89
him, desirous of the welfare of his son, the whole of Rohaṇa
as dwelling-place. He (Vikkamabāhu) betook himself thither, 90
made the town of Mahānāgahula[5] the capital and took up
his abode in it.

After this Ruler of men, Vijayabāhu, had thus for five 91
and fifty years rolled the wheel of dominion[6] without its

(cf. Selantarāyatana, 78. 10) Kappūramūlāyatana may be meant for the Kappūra-pariveṇa (45. 29; 46. 21; 50. 77) belonging to the Abhayagiri.

[1] Cf. 57. 37.

[2] I retain the reading *rājinīkatā* to which the MSS. point. We know from 49. 3; 50. 58; 54. 11 that *rājinī* is a title bestowed by the King on his female kinswomen. It is thus clear from our passage that the King raised his daughter Yasodharā to the rank of rājinī and that she then built the structure described in the verse.

[3] The name was thus probably Pasādapāsāda, so called because of the satisfaction (*pasāda*) felt by Yasodharā at the distinction conferred on her.

[4] This is quite in keeping with the Sinhalese law of succession according to which before the son, in this case Vikkamabāhu, the younger brother, has claim to the throne.

[5] See note to 58. 39.

[6] In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva (note to 58. 1) it is said that the King Sirisaṃghabodhivarman Sirivijayabāhudēvar reigned 55 years and celebrated 73 birthdays. According to Pūjāv. he reigned over 50, according to Rājāv. even 80 years.

wavering, and had served the Order as also the people sore vexed by fear of the wicked Damilas, he ascended to the heavenly world to behold the rich reward that had sprung from his meritorious works

Here ends the sixtieth chapter, called "Care for the Laity and for the Order", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

CHAPTER LXI

HISTORY OF THE LIVES OF THE FOUR KINGS

Thereupon Mittā, the younger sister of the King, her three 1
sons, the highest dignitaries and the ascetics dwelling in the
district met together and without sending news of the Monarch's 2
death to the Ādipāda (Vikkamabāhu) dwelling in Rohaṇa, they
took counsel together and when they had become of one mind 3
they bestowed the consecration as king of Laṅkā on the Yuva-
rāja (Jayabāhu). But to the dignity of uparāja they appoint- 4
ed the prince called Mānābharaṇa, all thereby quitting the
path of former custom[1]. And all three brothers with Mānā- 5
bharaṇa at the head, in company with Jayabāhu, took for-
cible possession of all valuables regarded as specially costly, 6
such as pearls, jewels and the like, as well as of the vehicl-
es, and of the elephants and so on, and left Pulatthinagara 7
with the whole army (with the intention): we will speedily
seize (the person of) Vikkamabāhu. At the tidings of all these 8
events Vikkamabāhu thought: "Unhappily I had no chance of
paying my father the last honours, I will now betake myself 9
in haste to Pulatthinagara and by gazing on my father's
funeral pyre, assuage the heavy grief which weighs on my 10
soul." With this firm resolve the Ādipāda left his town

[1] Jayabāhu's ascent of the throne is lawful (see note to 60. 87), unlawful on the other hand, is the appointment of Mānābharaṇa as uparāja, which at once makes him heir to the throne. After Jayabāhu, Vikkamabāhu is heir, as son of Vijayabāhu. Evidently descent in the female line has to do with this, the *bhāgineyya* the son of the sister, having an exceptional position, a circumstance utilized by Mittā in furtherance of her ambitious plans. Jayabāhu is, as will appear, a puppet king. The whole influence is now already in Mānābharaṇa's hand.

30 stubborn pride, thought thus "How in Rājaraṭṭha of the Kings of consecrated head dare this single man hold sway
31 without the royal consecration?" Their envy reached its highest point and with still more[1] followers (than the first time)
32 they set forth united to begin the war When Vikkamabāhu learned of this matter from messengers he advanced at the
33 head of a large army thither where they were[2] In Dakkhiṇadesa by the village of Bodhisenapabbata Vikkamabāhu de-
34 feated in battle the three (brothers) With the intention to root out now all his enemies he pursued the fugitives at
35 their heels They withdrew into a stronghold in the province of Pañcayojana, but he in order to capture them, advanced to Kalyāṇi[3]

36 A warrior, lord of the Ariya country[4], Vīradeva by name,
37 sole sovereign of Palandipa, a most foolhardy man, landed at that time with brave warriors in Mahātittha in the belief he would be able to bring the whole of Lankā into his power
38 Now when the Sovereign Vikkamabāhu heard of the matter, he thought so long as he has not yet gained a firm footing
39 in Lankā he must be rooted out So he marched from Kalyāṇi and betook himself to the village called Mannāra[5] near
40 Mahātittha Vīradeva offered the King[6] battle Two princes,
41 brothers, Anikanga and the other, as well as the Commander-in-chief, known by the name of Kitti, he killed by violence
42 as well as many people, acknowledged warriors The Senāpati

[1] I connect *bhuyo* with *samgayha sārake* To change the MSS reading *bhīyo* into *bhiyo* is unnecessary The compilers of the later Mahāvaṃsa were strongly influenced by Sanskrit

[2] P *te am visayaṃ* lit to their domain or district

[3] If Mānābharaṇa and his brothers retire as far as Pañcayojana (see note to 57 71) then they must surrender the greater part of Dakkhiṇadesa In the pursuit Vikkamabāhu penetrates to Kalyāṇi that is to the district on the lower Kälani ganga (Colombo and its hinterland)

[4] We have probably to read *Ariyadesiso* = *Ariya desa iso*

[5] The present Mannar in the district of the same name in the Northern Province

[6] I prefer to read *tena rājinā* with the Col Ed against the *rājino* of the MSS

Rakkhaka he captured alive, and after defeating Vikkamabāhu and his army, he followed him at his heels. Fleeing in ter- 43
ror Vikkamabāhu reached his capital, took all his movable property and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra[1]. Vīra- 44
deva who was ever hard at his heels, reached the capital and took up his abode there for some days, then he set off in 45
haste thither to capture Vikkamabāhu. But the latter sent off his whole large army, forced Vīradeva to fight in a great 46
swampy wilderness near the village of Antaraviṭṭhika[2], slew him and dwelling then with might in Pulatthinagara, without 47
the royal consecration it is true, he held sway as monarch in Rājaraṭṭha.

The three brothers now gave up their lust for war and 48
dwelt each in his province to which he had betaken himself. But despite their efforts, the four princes[3], were quite 49
unable to unite this country under one umbrella. In their heed- 50
less way of acting they slighted people of good family and placed ambitious[4] men of the lower classes in leading positions. The deluded ones injured the Order and the laity who 51
had variously been furthered in the best possible way by Vijayabāhu. From people of good family even in the absence 52
of an equivalent offence, they would seize forcibly their possessions. In their insatiability[5] and money lust they squeezed 53
out the whole people as sugar cane in a sugar mill, by

[1] This passage together with 70. 305 and 71. 6 makes it certain that Koṭṭhasāra was situated in the east (south or north-east) of Pulatthinagara. CODRINGTON II. says also: "This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantalai and was in the King's Country".

[2] Antaraviṭṭhi must thus have been situated about halfway between Koṭṭhasāra and Pulatthinagara. The name occurs also in 60. 68, and again in 70. 322 in an account of battles which apparently took place in the neighbourhood of Pulatthinagara.

[3] The three brothers and Vikkamabāhu.

[4] I take *sābhimata* to mean the same as *sābhimāna* (skr. the same) "proud". The p. part. *abhimata* stands as so frequently, instead of the abstract substantive (cf. for ex. *mata* "dying, the death" = *maraṇa* Therag. 194 etc.).

[5] Most likely we have to read *te 'khīṇatosā*.

54 levying excessive taxes. King Vikkamabāhu took the main-
tenance villages which belonged to the Buddha and so forth
55 and gave them to his attendants. In Pulatthinagara he gave
over several vihāras distinguished by (the possession of) relics,
56 to foreign soldiers to live in. Precious stones, pearls and the
like, presented by the pious as offerings for the Relic of the
57 Alms-bowl, and for the sacred Tooth Relic, the sandelwood,
the aloes, the camphor, the many images of gold and the
58 like which he took forcibly, he used as it pleased him. Be-
holding this manifold evil committed against the Order and
59 the laity, the ascetics in the eight chief vihāras[1], looked up
to as people worthy of honour, and the Paṃsukūlin bhikkhus
60 belonging to the two divisions[2], were wroth at the matter
and thinking it were better to remove themselves from the
vicinity of people who like those erring from the faith,
61 wrought in this way so much evil against the Order, they
took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, betook
themselves to Rohaṇa and settled themselves here and there
62 in places where it pleased them. In the same way people of
good family, scattered here and there, kept themselves hid-
den in places which seemed good to them and made their
abode there.

63 The officers belonging to the retinue of the monarchs on
both sides who were established on the frontiers, fought with
64 each other continually. By setting fire to many flourishing
villages and market towns, by piercing tanks filled with water,
65 by destroying everywhere the weirs on all the canals and
by hewing down all useful trees like the coconut palm and
66 others, they in fighting each other, so devastated the king-
dom that it was impossible to trace even the sites of the old
67 villages. And even the rulers did evil to the people letting
their retainers plunder the towns and commit highway rob-

[1] P. *aṭṭhamūlavihāresu* in Pulatthinagara. Later (84. 4, 18) *aṭṭhāyatanāni* are mentioned in Jambuddoṇi = Dambadeniya.

[2] We hear nothing further of this organisation of the Paṃsukūlins. It is worth noting that the sect now wholly vanishes. It is never mentioned again.

bery. The slaves too and the workmen of people of good 68
family despised their masters without respect and void of
all fear. They became mercenaries to the kings and worming 69
themselves into their confidence, they, by means of offices
conferred on them, attained ever greater power. The people 70
dwelling in places difficult of access like the Samantakūṭa
and so forth, no longer paid to the monarch the taxes formerly levied on them. They despised the king, became rene- 71
gades[1] and dwelt independent, each in his own region. "What 72
is based on wrong speedily changes," this proverb was by no
means true of the land of Laṅkā at that time[2].

Like (greedy) tenants of villages wholly and ever void of 73
all dignity, their mind bent on destruction without end, wholly lacking in royal pride, false to their own or to others' welfare, without any restraint in their efforts: thus lived all these rulers forsaking the path of (good and ancient) custom.

Here ends the sixty-first chapter, called "History of the Lives of the Four Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Here we meet for the first time a word frequently occurring in chapters 74-76 *dāmarika*, in the abstract form *dāmarikattana* (suff. *-ttana* = skr. *-tvana*, cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1240). I find *dāmarika* for the first time in Buddhaghosa, in the Samantapāsādikā, Oldenberg, Vinaya III. 320[30]. In Skr. we have *ḍāmarika* with cerebral initial sound, for ex. Kauṭ. 4. 9 (84) near the end.

[2] Lit.: "The land Laṅkā never came at that time to such a condition that one could say: "What is based on wrong etc." One should compare with this *iti vattabbataṃ nāpajjati* DhCo. IV. 44. We have to do evidently with the quotation of a popular proverb equivalent to the English saying: "Ill gotten good seldom thrives". But this proverb could not be applied to Laṅkā at that time, had no bearing on Laṅkā (the *n'eva* of the MSS. must not be altered to *yeva*), since the evil, the wrong was just in full bloom.

CHAPTER LXII

THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE

1 The Ruler Jayabāhu[1] and the Queen Mittā by name who
2 had sojourned in Rohaṇa, departed now by death The con-
sort of Sirivallabha, Sugalā, bore two children, a son Mā-
3 nābharaṇa and a daughter Līlāvatī The royal consort of
Prince Mānābharaṇa also bore two daughters, Mittā and Pa-
4 bhāvatī When the Mahādipāda Vīrabāhu[2] beheld these his
two daughters, he was struck by the following consideration·
5 "We are sprung from the pure dynasty of the Moon[3], highly
6 esteemed in the world, at the head of all royal houses In
outward appearance (we are) enviable, distinguished by every
aptitude, experienced in the various sciences, skilful in the
7 managing of elephants, horses and the like And yet we
three have over and over again suffered severe defeat in fight
8 by the single Vikkamabāhu and there is no prospect of the
birth of a son who would be capable of wiping out this stain
9 Ah, how small is our merit! What avails me a royal dig-
nity which is defiled by the evil tattle of the people? I must
10 now give up my bent to worldly things and spend[4] my days

[1] The length of the reign is not given According to Pūjāv it was 13 years Rajāv where we have the name Vijayabāhu, not Jayabahu says 8 years In Rājaratn a Vijayabāhu is inserted after Jayabāhu Here it is evident that the name of the father of Vikkamabahu which is expressly given in the two other sources has crept into the text as the name of a new king

[2] I e Mānābharaṇa, who according to 61 26 had assumed this name He bore the title Mahadipāda being considered by his brothers the lawful successor of Jayabāhu

[3] P *somavamsa* skr *somavamśa* Soma is the Moon deity

[4] *Netabbā* instead of the meaningless *te tayo* is apparently a conjectural reading by S and B At any rate it is so convincing that I adopt it without scruple

unweariedly in pious works." He made over the whole ad-
ministration of the kingdom to his ministers[1] and while he 11
himself sojourned there seven or eight months, he camped
one night in the temple of the King of the gods[2], observing
the precepts of moral discipline. Now about dawn the Ruler 12
saw in a dream a wondrous god with glittering raiment and
ornaments, adorned with fragrant flower wreaths, illuminating 13
with his sublime beauty and the glory of his presence the
whole heavens[3] like to the sun when it has risen on the 14
firmament and he heard him speak thus: "Be content, O great-
ly blessed! be joyful, O King! A splendid son, furnished 15
with the tokens of power, who shall be able to carry out his
designs, well instructed, of a courage whose splendour shall
spread through the world, glorious in might and strength, 16
honour and fame, a fount of excellent qualities, a furtherer of
the Order and of the laity shall be attained by thee ere long, 17
O mighty King! Now go at once to the town where dwell
wife and child." As at daybreak he awoke full of joyful ex- 18
citement, the best of men betook himself to Puṅkhagāma.
Even as he had seen it so the Ruler related the beautiful 19
dream to his ministers in the presence of the Mahesī. He 20
then in company with the Mahesī, with the wish for a
distinguished son, amassed all kinds of good deeds, such
as almsgiving, the observing of the moral prescripts and
the like. And one day at morn he saw himself in a dream 21
entering the sleeping chamber of the Mahesī holding gently
by the ear a beautiful, pure white elephant calf endowed 22
with all auspicious marks. When he awoke he rose from his 23
splendid couch and his heart merry with joy and rapture, he
betook himself at this time to the sleeping chamber of the 24
Mahesī and told her the dream, as he had seen it. "I also 25

[1] Here we must supplement "and withdrew into solitude".

[2] Name of Indra = Sakka.

[3] *Asesāsā* (= *asesa-āsā*, skr. *āśā*) Another excellent emendation by S. and B. instead of *asesāyo*. Perhaps *asesāsāyo* would be even better in spite of the metrical irregularity. It might then be assumed that it was just this which led to the corruption of the text.

in a dream have embraced such a young elephant It walked
round my bed its right side turned towards it, then stood still
26 Drawing it by the trunk to me and raising it up to my
couch (I tenderly embraced it)" Thus the Queen told him
27 The twain having thus made known to each other what
they had seen, awaited joyfully and without slumbering, the
28 break of day In the morning they inquired of the house
priest[1] who had come to pay his respects, and the sooth-
sayers When these heard this they announced full of joy
29 "Within a short time, without doubt, the birth will take
place of a son who shall bear on him the marks of (future)
30 power" When they heard that, then all of them — ministers,
citizens and the Ruler of men had the feeling of a great
31 festival of joy From that moment onward the Prince who
wished above all a happy issue, had the Paritta recited over
32 and over again by the community of the bhikkhus To count-
less beggars he distributed daily as alms costly gifts — jewels,
33 pearls and the like Rites like the Homa[2] sacrifice and others
held to be salutary, he had performed by the house priest
and other brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda and the Vedangas[3]
34 Ruined vihāras and relic shrines and destroyed tanks he or-
35 dered the royal workmen to rebuild While the Lord of men
thus spent the day in pious action there grew shortly in the
36 womb of the Queen a splendid fruit When the Lord of men
heard this, full of joy, he had an ample pregnancy gift[4]

[1] P *purohita* He was a Brahman Cf below v 33 and specially v 45 ff The court life was organised according to Brahmanical rules

[2] Skr *homa* (from *hu* 'to pour into the fire') is the general term for "sacrifice" *Ahuti* is older An enumeration of the different *homa* with a terminology differing in part from that of Sanskrit ritual literature is given D I 9 (= I 1 21) This passage has already been alluded to by HILLEBRANDT, Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber, p 18

[3] The *vedāngani* the ancillary sciences of the Veda, include *sikṣā* phonetics, *chandas* metre, *nirukta* etymology, *vyākaraṇa* grammar, *kalpa* ritual and *jyotiṣa* astronomy A A MACDONELL Hist. of Sanskrit Literature p 264 ff M WINTERNITZ, Gesch der indischen Litteratur, I, p 229 ff

[4] P *gabbhaparihāra* By *parihāra* is meant every extraordinary grant

bestowed on the Queen. When in course of time the fruit 37
of her body grew ripe, the Queen bore a son at a moment
marked by a lucky constellation. Clear at this moment were 38
all the quarters of the heavens and cool, fragrant, gentle
breezes blew. With the trumpeting of the elephants and the 39
neighing[1] of the horses the royal courtyard was filled with
resounding din. When the Ruler Mānābharaṇa full of as- 40
tonishment beheld the extraordinary signs and wonders mani-
fested in such divers ways, and when he then heard the news 41
of the birth of his son, he was filled with joy at the fulfil-
ment of his wish, as if anointed with ambrosia. He set many 42
free who lay bound in fetters in prison and gave a splendid
alms to the samaṇas and the brāhmaṇas. And the people 43
who dwelt in the town, with the ministers at the head,
adorned the whole of the royal capital in divers ways, with
arches of banana leaves and the like and trimmed and beauti- 44
fully clad, they held for several days a great and joyous feast.
According to the rules laid down in the Veda, the Monarch 45
had the birth rites[2] and the other ceremonies performed for
the boy. He then summoned the house priest and the other 46
brāhmaṇas versed in the lore of body marks and having shown
them the customary reverence and distinction, he charged 47

given for a special occasion. *Gäbaperahära* in Sinhalese means a particular ceremony to be performed when pregnancy has taken place (the Kusajātaka v. 150, ed. by A. M. Gunasekara has *gäbapeḷahära*); but the verb *adāpayi* does not agree with this meaning.

[1] Amongst the ancient Germans the neighing of a horse was also regarded as a propitious sign. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 3. 442; cf. Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, S. 183. We are familiar with the tale of Herodotus 3. 84, 85, according to which Darius gained his crown through the neighing of his horse. The Slaves on the other hand, consider the restlessness and neighing of horses as an ill omen. Thus in the Serbian folk song of Ibrāhim Nukić, F. S. Krauss, Slavische Volksforschungen, p. 397.

[2] P. *jātakamma* = skr. *jātakarman* in which four ceremonies are to be distinguished: 1) *āyuṣya* "giving of life", 2) *medhājanana* "the giving of understanding" 3) *stanapratidhāna* "the giving of the breast" and 4) *nāmakaraṇa* "the giving of the name". Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 45. Speijer, Jātakarman, Leiden 1872.

them with the determination of the body marks of the boy
After carefully observing all the marks on his hands and feet
48 they announced joyfully to the King who stood amid the
49 throng of his courtiers and to the Queen thus "Apart from
the island of Lankā he is able to unite under one umbrella
50 and to rule even the whole of Jambudipa" The King glad-
dened them with gifts and asked further courteously "Is
51 there any unfavourable sign to be seen or not?' "The boy
will have a long life but there is an unfavourable constella-
52 tion for the father," they answered the Ruler Having regard
to the heroic strength of his foe-crushing arms, he received
53 the significant name of Parakkamabāhu[1] Versed in the ri-
tual, his father had the ceremony of the piercing of the
ears[2] and the ceremony of the first rice food[3] performed
54 exactly according to custom He then sent his messengers
to Pulatthinagara to bring Vikkamabāhu[4] the news of the
55 birth of his son When Vikkamabāhu heard from them of
the splendour promising qualities of his sister's son but also
of the inauspicious constellation for the father he thought
56 "A splendid nephew, gleaming like a jewel that is the centre
stone[5] in the chain of kings beginning with King Vijaya

[1] The ceremony of the *nāmakarana* is performed according to most of the Gṛhyasūtras on the *10* th day According *to others even later*, after a hundred nights or after a year Hillebrandt l c p 46 f

[2] P *kannavedha* = skr *karnavedha* a ceremony mentioned only in one MS of Paraskara's Gṛhyasūtra performed in the third or the fifth year Speijer l c p 21 Hillebrandt l c. p 50

[3] P *annapāsana* = skr *annaprāśana* According to the rule common to all the Gṛhyasūtras the ceremony is performed in the 6 th month Hillebrandt l c., p 48 There is no mention here of the ceremony of the taking out of the child for the first time that he may see the sun *ādityadarśanārtham* It takes place according to Manu *I 84 caturthe māsi*

[4] One may assume from this passage that after their unsuccessful wars against Vikkamabāhu the princes of Rohana recognised him as king

[5] P skr *nāyaka* For the meaning of 'central gem see BR s v., 3 The fundamental meaning is 'leader, chief

hath he begotten me. That no harm may at any time befall 57
him, the boy shall grow up here in my immediate neighbourhood. To win unachieved and to keep achieved advantage 58
this my son Gajabāhu will in no case be able. And my other 59
son Mahinda, though gifted with heroic courage and other excellent qualities, stands lower owing to his mother's origin and is unworthy of the crown. My sister's son shall one day 60
enjoy to his heart's desire the dominion which is prosperous through the treasures I have amassed in many ways." He 61
then sent messengers to fetch the boy and gave them ornaments for the boy and other valuables as gift. When the 62
Ruler Vīrabāhu heard all this out of the mouth of the messengers he said to himself: "These prudent words he hath spoken in thought for my good. Nevertheless it is not meet 63
to send away such a jewel of a son of one's own body for the warding off of evil which threatens me. Moreover, if the 64
boy is taken thither, the party of Vikkamabāhu like fire 65
joined with the strength of the storm, will gleam[1] with mighty, up-shooting flames, but our misfortune, alas so great, will become still worse!" So he gave not his son to the mes- 66
sengers who had arrived in his dominions but dismissed them after satisfying them with a gift of money.

The Lord of men who leading there with wife and child 67
a harmonious life, was attacked by an evil disease and was forced to give up his life at the same moment with the royal dignity.

Here ends the sixty-second chapter, called "The Birth of the Prince", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The translation rests on the conjectural reading of the Col. Ed. *saṃjalissati* in place of the *saṃkilissati* of the MSS.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF SAṄKHATTHALĪ

1 When the two other brothers heard of the death of the
eldest, they came hither in haste and had the last rites per-
2 formed for him. Kittisirimegha hereupon took possession of
the province of his elder brother. He then summoned the
3 youngest brother (Sirivallabha), made over to him the two
other provinces and ordered him to live there. The latter
4 obeyed the orders of his elder brother, took the boy (Parak-
kamabāhu) and the Queen Ratanāvalī and her two daughters[1]
5 and betook himself to the town of Mahānāgahula. While he
dwelt there in harmony (with them) he had the ceremony of
the first dressing of the hair[2] performed on the boy and
6 brought him up with great pomp. Thereupon he wished to
marry the eldest daughter of the Queen, Mittā by name, to
his son (Mānābharaṇa) *and took* counsel thereupon *with his*
7 ministers: „Princes of the dynasty of Kāliṅga have many
times and oft attained to dominion in this island of Laṅkā.
8 If now this Queen were to send her daughter away secretly
to wed her to Gajabāhu[3] who is sprung from the Kāliṅga
9 stock, he would in connection with the marriage become
mightier, but my son here would be without any support at
10 all. Hence it is advisable to give the princess to my son:
11 as the matter lies this will be for our advantage." When

[1] Mittā and Pabhāvatī, 62. 8.

[2] P. *sikhāmaha*. This corresponds to the *cūḍākaraṇa* of the Gṛhyasūtras. According to Sāṅkhāyana this ceremony should be performed on a Kshatriya in the fifth year, otherwise the third year is generally given. HILLEBRANDT l. c., p. 49.

[3] He was the grandson of Vijayabāhu I. and of Tilokasundarī who came from the Kaliṅga country.

the Queen who was an ornament of the Sun dynasty, heard
all this, as she by no means wished the affair, she spake to
the Ruler thus: "After the Prince named Vijaya had slain 12
all the yakkhas and made this island of Laṅkā habitable for
men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with 13
ours by unions above all with scions of the Kaliṅga line.
Union with other princes was also hitherto unknown with 14
us save with kings of the Moon dynasty. How then, just 15
because he is your son, could there be for us a union with
that prince who has sprung from the Ariya dynasty[1]? Al- 16
though the Queen in this wise protested over and over again,
he nevertheless forcing (the matter) wedded the princess to
his son. This (prince) accompanied by his consort, distin- 17
guished by many virtues, winning all people for himself,
dwelt with his father.

Vikkamabāhu having enjoyed the royal dignity one and 18
twenty years[2], death ensuing, he passed to the other world.
Hereupon Gajabāhu[3] took possession of the flourishing king- 19
dom endowed with army and train, and dwelt in Pulatthina-
gara. When however the Monarchs (of Rohaṇa) Kittisirimegha 20
and Sirivallabha heard of the event, they reflected thus: "As 21
Vikkamabāhu was the elder, his dominion in the chief king-
dom could in no wise be a reproach to us, but that his son 22

[1] What is meant is the Aryan dynasty of the Pāṇḍya (called Paṇḍu in the Mahāvaṃsa) in Southern India. The mother of Sirivallabha and grandmother of the young prince Mānābharana, Mittā, was according to 59. 41, married to the Paṇḍurāja. Ratanāvalī evidently denies to Mittā's offspring the connection with the Moon dynasty of which they boast in 62. 5.

[2] According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Vikkamabāhu reigned 28 years.

[3] It is worthy of note that of the four Sinhalese sources which I have consulted for comparison, only Nik.-s. mentions Gajabāhu. Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. pass from Vikkamabāhu at once to Parakkamabāhu, whom the two first, in addition, describe as the son of Kittisirimegha. It was mentioned above (note to 59. 49) that Gajabāhu is named in the Dimbulagala inscription as son of Sundarī and Vikkamabāhu. An inscription of Gajabāhu at Kapuru-vedu-oya (Matale District) was published by H. W. Codrington, JRAS. C. B. xxvi, Nr. 71, 1919, p. 53 ff.

who is not of age should now rule in the main realm — it is
23 in truth not meet for us to permit that So long as he has
not taken root in his province, we must take forcible pos-
24 session of this province" The whole of the Velakkāra[1] troops
they suborned by gifts of money Save for a few retainers
25 of his immediate retinue, all the inhabitants of the kingdom
soon fell away from their ruler Gajabāhu and sent messengers
26 over and over again to the two kings "With one accord we
will seize the kingdom and give it over to you, but ye must
27 give us support" Thereupon the two brothers equipped in
haste their army and advanced from two sides to the centre
28 of the kingdom[2] They sent off envoys[3] The Monarch Ga-
jabāhu assembled thereupon his ministers and took counsel
29 with them "The whole of the Velakkāra troops are in open
revolt, the two kings have advanced to fight against our realm
30 If we first can deal the mightier part of them a decisive
31 blow[4], then it will be easy to get rid of the others" Having
thus resolved, he took his whole army and marched against
32 King Sirivallabha to fight him King Sirivallabha fought an
33 extraordinarily bitter action from morning till evening But
being unable to defeat the other he beat a retreat and betook
34 himself in haste to his own province again The Ruler Kitti-
sirimegha also, vanquished by Gokaṇṇa[5], an officer of Gaja-
35 bāhu, returned to his province The Ruler of men, Gaja-
bāhu, who had suffered no harm in this war, also be-
36 took himself again to the neighbourhood of his capital After
the powerful (Gajabāhu) had punished many generals who

[1] See note to 60 36

[2] The centre of the kingdom is the capital Pulatthinagara Kitti-sirimegha must have marched against it from Dakkhiṇadesa that is from the South West, Sirivallabha from the South East.

[3] Evidently to Gajabāhu demanding that he should voluntarily surrender the kingdom

[4] P *mukhabhanga* lit. a smashing of the face or the mouth', an expression evidently borrowed from the terminology of the prize fighter It occurs again 75 75

[5] For this general who had his headquarters in Kālavāpi see further below 66 35 ff, 70 63 ff

had offended against him, and having pacified the kingdom,
he entered his town. After that the (three) Monarchs each 37
in his province, lived in amity with one another. But the 38
Monarch's son[1] Parakkamabāhu, the discerning one, who was
well schooled in all the arts, with his intelligence, capable 39
of distinguishing amid the multitude of things what should
and what should not be done, with his soaring plans and his
extraordinary greatness, cared not at heart for the comfort 40
of a life lived together with his mother and sisters, nor for
the delight of the many childish games. He thought: "Prin- 41
ces like myself, gifted with heroism and other such like qua-
lities—how can they live in such a secluded district? I will 42
betake myself now to the land of my birth which as Yu-
varāja I may enjoy", and he left his place of abode, accom-
panied by his retinue. In course of time he came near to 43
the village which bore the name Saṅkhanāyakatthalī[2]. When
Kittisirimegha heard of it the heartache he felt at being 44
so alone, because he lacked a son fit to inherit the royal
dignity, was assuaged and he thought: "My great, enduring 45
merit is rewarded in that I now can behold in him who is
his living image, as it were my elder brother". Swayed by 46
joyful excitement, the Ruler of men had the charming town
decked out abundantly with triumphal arches and the like
and on a day and under a special constellation held to be 47
propitious, he, surrounded by his hosts, went forth to meet
him. And when he beheld the Prince gifted with qualities 48
with which those of others could not compare, and with all

[1] P. *nandana*, here "son" like skr. *nandana*. Cf. v. 51, note.

[2] The situation of this place, called also *Saṅkhanāthatthalī* (66. 9; 67. 78, 82) or *Saṅkhatthalī* (64. 22), is unknown. According to 65. 4 ff. it was about 5 *gāvuta* (about 10 miles) distant from Badalatthalī. It is clear too from 67. 81-82, that the two places were not far from each other. Badalatthalī must indeed have lain on the borders of Dakkhiṇadesa. As Badalatthalī or-la (see note to 58. 43) is probably the present Batalagoda, N. E. of Kurunegala, Saṅkhatthalī would have to be looked for somewhere in the region of Polgahawela or Kegalla. At any rate under Kittisirimegha it was the capital of Dakkhiṇadesa.

49 favourable marks, then full of joy he embraced him tenderly,
drawing him to his breast and kissing him again and again on
50 the head, whereby in face of the great multitude he shed con-
51 tinuously from his eyes floods of joyful tears Thereupon he
mounted with his son[1] a beautiful chariot and filling the ten
52 regions of the firmament[2] round about with the clanging of the
drums, he entered the town and showing his son all the beau-
tiful decorations there, he entered the royal palace (with him)
53 When then a numerous retinue such as crowds of chamber-
lains, cooks and the like had been bestowed on him, he lived
happily with his father whose heart was contented by his
manifold excellences

Here ends the sixty-third chapter, called "The Arrival in the City of Sankhatthali", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The brother s son is called "son just as on the other hand the nephew calls the brother of his father simply father (v 53, cf note to 61 24) Cousins who are sons of brothers, call each other brothers thus 48 51, 61 Aggabodhi VI and VII Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the 'brother of the Buddha' because he was *cullapitu putto* (Sumangalavilasinī ed Rhys Davids and J E Carpenter I p 4[23]) The position of the sister s son (*bhāgineyya*) is thereby the more marked

[2] Namely the four chief regions of the heavens, the four intermediary regions, zenith (skr *ūrdhvam*) and nadir (skr *tiryak* or *adhah*) Cf skr *daśa diśah*.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE DEPARTURE FOR THE OTHER COUNTRY

After the arrival in his beloved native land, his heart's 1
desire was fulfilled and all anxious yearning left him. And 2
now with the help of his lightning-like intelligence he learned
easily and quickly from his teachers the various accomplish-
ments. In the numerous books of the Victor (Buddha), in 3
the works on politics, as in that of Koṭalla[1] and others, in
grammar and poetry together with the knowledge of voca-
bulary and ritual[2], in dance and song, in the art of driving 4
the elephant and so forth, above all in the lore of the mani-
pulation of the bow, the sword and other weapons he was
past master. Admirably trained, he did everything that ac- 5
corded with the King's, his father's wishes and was never
lacking in reverence.

[1] Conjectural reading for the *kosalla*, *komalla* or *kocalla* of the MSS. Cf. 70. 56. I believe that Kauṭalya i. e. Cāṇakya, the famous minister of Candragupta is meant. He is alleged to be the author of a text book on politics, Artha-śāstra, which has been recently discovered. What is important is that the Cūlavaṃsa seems to confirm the name *Kauṭalya* as against *Kauṭilya*. It is handed down by Hemacandra, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 853 (see BR. s. v., Hillebrandt, Ueber das Kauṭilīyaśāstra und Verwandtes, p. 1) and seems to be the reading of the best MSS. so that in Ganapati's new edition it appears throughout. I regard it as the original form for the following simple reason. The fact that the forms Kauṭalya and Kauṭilya have been handed down together is indisputable. Now *kauṭilya* as a variant of the original *kauṭalya*, in allusion to the content and character of the Artha-śāstra (skr. *kuṭila* "crooked, cunning") is quite intelligible. On the other hand, it is not easy to explain why a word so distinct and of such definite meaning as *kauṭilya* should be changed into *kauṭalya*. See however J. Jolly, Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik V. 216 ff.

[2] P. *sanighaṇḍukakeṭubhe*. See PTS. P. D. s. vv. *nighaṇḍu* and *keṭubha*.

6 The Ruler (Kittisirimegha) at heart ever well pleased
with the virtue (practised by the Prince) of reverent demean-
7 our, enjoyed with him as with a good friend various pas-
times, such as sport in the garden and in the water and
while he was travelling here and there about the country
8 with him, he came one day near the village called Ba-
9 dalatthali which served as the abode of the loyal, powerful
Senāpati Sankha who was entrusted with the defence of the
10 frontier When the Senāpati heard that, he had the village
at once made ready, went forth to meet the Monarch and his
son and remained, after he had *bowed himself, standing before*
11 them. The twain, father and son, addressed him with friendly
words and being satisfied by him in various ways, they visited
12 the village When the Monarch had sojourned there some
days he summoned the Senāpati to him and spake the follo-
13 wing words "My son is now grown to manhood and is ripe
for admission[1] To perform the ceremony of admission great
14 preparations are necessary" When the Senāpati heard that,
he made at once the best of preparations for the festival
15 After instituting with sweet savours, lamps, flowers and other
things of the kind for three days an abundant offering[2] for
16 the three jewels and after he had the ceremony performed, in
a manner befitting his high rank, by Brahmans versed in
17 the ritual of the Veda, the Ruler together with the Prince
Parakkama in the midst of his courtiers set about enjoying a
great spring festival[3]

[1] P skr *upanayana* This is the ceremony of taking the son to the Brahman teacher With the Kshatriya it takes place between the 11th and the 22nd year With this is associated at the same time the admission to the religious community as fully qualified member *BR* s. v., Hillebrandt, Ritual Litteratur, p 60 ff

[2] P *pubbakāra* The expression is found also in A iv $23^{16,23}$, where among things harmful for the lay brother is mentioned the choosing by him outside of the Order, (*ito bahiddhā*) of a person who seems worthy of reverence, a *dakkhiṇeyya, tattha ca pubbakāram karoti*

[3] Cf skr *vasantotsava, vasantamahotsava* or *vasantasamayotsava* as below in v 21 *vasantasamayussava*

Now King Kittisirimegha learned through messengers who 18
came from Rohaṇa that his brother named Sirivallabha who
dwelt in Rohaṇa, was dead and that Sirivallabha's son Mā- 19
nābharaṇa by name, had taken over the government and had
made Mittā his queen[1]. He overcame the grief heavy to be 20
borne caused by his brother's death through hearing the 21
news of the birth of a son to Mittā. But he gave up the
spring festival and returned, leaving the Senāpati named 22
Saṅkha behind on the spot, with his son to the town of
Saṅkhatthalī[2]. While the Monarch lived there happily with 23
Prince Parakkama a year passed. The second queen of the 24
Monarch Mānābharaṇa, Pabhāvatī[3], likewise bore a son, named
Kittisirimegha. When Kittisirimegha heard that he thought: 25
our line has become great, and felt still happier.

The Prince (Parakkamabāhu) urged by his great, incom- 26
parable merit by whose virtue alone he was destined for the
dominion over Laṅkā, valued not so much as grass the love 27
shown him by his father as by a good friend, and his great
tenderness, as well as the services of his many retainers per- 28
formed for him from fear and devotion[4]. And in his zeal 29
to (unite and thereby) make Laṅkā happy under one um-
brella as speedily as possible, he thought to himself thus:
"Since it has ever been the home of the hair, collar-bone, 30
neck-bone, tooth and alms-bowl relics[5] as well as of the

[1] See 63. 6 ff. *Deviyā Mittāya paṭilābhaṃ Sirivallabhasūnuno* does not mean, as translated by W. "a birth of a son, Siri Vallabha, to the Queen Mittā".

[2] See note to 63. 43. *Nivattitvāna* must be understood as gerund of the caus. *nivatteti*, one MS. even reading *-ttetvāna*. Parakkama's Upanayana festival had taken place in Badalatthalī. There Kittisirimegha receives the various news from Rohaṇa. He leaves the general Saṅkha, who had to prepare the festival, behind in that place (*tatth'eva*) and betakes himself with his nephew to the capital, Saṅkhatthalī.

[3] We see from this that Sirivallabha's son had married both the sisters of Parakkamabāhu, Mittā and Pabhāvatī.

[4] Lit.: whereby fear and devotion went before, i. e. were the motive. W's translation is inexact.

[5] The hair relic (*kesadhātu*) was (Mhvs. 39. 49) brought to Ceylon by

token of the footprint of the Master and of his sacred Bodhi
31 Tree branch, further of the eighty-four thousand sections of
the doctrine which give a picture of the Perfectly Enlighte-
32 ned one, and as it is a mine of gems, pearls and many other
treasures, this island although not so large, has always coun-
33 ted for something special My three fathers, the Monarchs,
and also my mother's brother[1] were not able to unite it
34 under one umbrella They divided it therefore and with the
thought if we only rule it to this extent we have done our
duty, each in his province renouncing the desire customary
35 in our family for the royal consecration, carried on the go-
vernment like village chiefs whose one aim is their farming
36 and the like Of these save my father's brother, Kittisiri-
megha, the three remaining monarchs have passed away in
37 accordance with their deeds Man's longest span of life is
now alas, but meagre, boy, youth, greybeard, all these living
38 beings will one after another suffer death, so fixed a rule as
39 this there is otherwise nowhere else in this world Therefore
must sons of kings such as I am, take no heed of this
frail, worthless body which is despised by all whose eyes
40 are fixed on what is precious, and must ever pay heed to
that which is worthy of aspiration and is abiding, namely
41 fame[2] (I hear[3]) in tales as in the Ummaggajātaka[4] and

Silakala under Moggallana I The relic of the neck bone (*givatthi*) was *according to the legend* brought by Sarabhu to Mahiyaṅgaṇa immediately after the death of the Buddha (Mhvs 1 37) the alms bowl (*patta*) by Sumana from Pāṭaliputta (Pupphapura) to Anuradhapura in the reign of Devānampiyatissa Sumana is also said to have fetched the relic of the (right) collar bone (*akkhaka*) from Indra's Heaven (Mhvs 17 14 ff 20) For the tooth relic (*dāthā dhātu*) see above 37 92 ff

[1] The three fathers are the father Manabbaraṇa and his two brothers The brother of his mother (Ratanavali) is Vikkamabahu II

[2] Lit "to that body of fame which is worthy of aspiration (*patthaniyye yasodehe*)

[3] Verses 41 47 form one sentence The accus *caritani* in 41 *vikkamam* in 42 etc. up to *suladdham jivitam* in 47 are all governed by *sutva* in v 45 The verse 46 is a parenthesis

[4] Mahāummaggajātaka no 546 in Fausböll's edition of the Jatakas (VI 329 ff)

others, of deeds done by the Bodhisatta in the different
stages of his development[1], the outcome of his heroic nature
and of other qualities. (I hear) in secular stories, in the 42
Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhārata and the like of the courage of Rāma
who slew Rāvaṇa and of the extraordinary deeds of heroism 43
performed in battle by the five sons of Paṇḍu, how they
slew Duyyodhana[2] and the other kings. (I hear) in the 44
Itihāsa[3] tales of the wonders worked from of old by princes
like Dussanta[4] and others in combat with gods and demons. —
(I hear) of the great wisdom of Cāṇakka[5], that best of Brāh- 45
maṇas who uprooted the kings of the Nanda dynasty. — All 46
these deeds though they belong not to our time, have attained
among the people up to the present day, the highest renown.
— When I hear such a happy and incomparable life of those 47
who are able on earth to accomplish extraordinary deeds,
then if I, sprung of a noble stock, do not that which befits 48
the best among noble heroes, my birth will be useless. These 49
were aided alone by favourable conditions of the time, but
were they superior to me in insight and other qualities?"
After he had thus reflected he thought further: "My father, 50
the King, is now on the last stage of life; if now this my
father's kingdom comes to me, but in consequence of the 51
enervation of my spirit under the influence of royal pleasures,
I am not so successful as I wish, my harm will be the greater.
But if I now staying here on the spot, send out my scouts 52

[1] P. *bhūmisu*. For the ten "stages" or "steps" of the Bodhisatta see SENART, Le Mahāvastu I., p. 77 ff., 436.

[2] *Duyyodhana*, skr. *Duryodhana*, the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the chief of the Kurus who was vanquished and slain in the great battle on the Kuru field by the five Paṇḍu brothers Yudhiṣṭhira etc. Duryodhana fell on the last day of the battle by the hand of Bhīma.

[3] *Itihāsa* is the collective name for all the literature of historical narrative based on tradition. Knowledge of the Itihāsa is part of Brahmanical education. Cf. D. I, p. 88 (= III. 1. 3), M. II, p. 133 (= 91).

[4] Skr. *Duṣyanta*, the husband of Śakuntalā, a king of the Moon dynasty.

[5] Skr. *Cāṇakya*. See note to 64. 3, as also LASSEN, Indische Altertumskunde[2] II, p. 212 ff.

and let them find out how conditions really are in the other
53 country, — my scouts might be in a position to discover a
weakness among my enemies favourable to my plans, or not[1] —
54 all the people here will describe[2] the strength of the foe to
55 me in all possible ways. (They will say:) 'For the three
Monarchs, thy fathers, of whom each was lord of a province,
56 although united they undertook war seven times, it was dif-
ficult to conquer the kingdom. How then shall a solitary
youth who merely rules a small province, take possession
57 of it? But it is easy to govern over the original province:
58 therefore thou must give up thy baneful project'. With such
words — boring glowing rods into my ears — they will
describe again and again, in every possible way, the great-
59 ness of the other country. But one should really refuse to
believe all this tattle of fools who speak without knowing
60 the real state of affairs. So under some kind of pretext I
shall myself go to the other country and find out its con-
61 ditions. But my father the Monarch, if he hears of these
plans, through fear that some evil may befall his noble son,
62 the light of his line, if he betakes himself into the country
of the foe, will, tender-hearted as he is, hinder my departure.
63 There will then be no fulfilment of my designs. It is there-
fore best if I go in disguise".
64 When the clever Prince who knew well what (right)
occasions are, one day at night-time found such an occasion,
he who was certainly not lacking in resources, left the house
in such wise that his father knew nought of his departure.

Here ends the sixty-fourth chapter, called "The Departure for the other Country", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] If we regard v 53 as a parenthesis, we get rid of all difficulties of language and content. The sense is: nothing is to be gained by spying from here, for whatever the result, the people here will always exaggerate the dangers and in consequence will not join me. They must be encouraged by my lead.

[2] The pres. *kathayanti* is remarkable. One expects *kathessanti*.

CHAPTER LXV

THE KILLING OF THE SENĀPATI

As the Prince set forth accompanied only by his weapons, 1
there sounded at the same moment in front of him the peal
of a shell trumpet. Hearing it he versed in the divers omens, 2
knew that his plan would shortly succeed and was full of joy. 3
Without the watchmen placed at different points noticing it, he
got out of the town free from fear, lion-hearted. In haste he 4
covered a distance of five gāvutas[1] and reached in a region
not far from Badalatthalagāma[2] a village called Piliṃvatthu. 5
It had been fixed as goal for the meeting together of his
people, to halt here before his own arrival, awaiting 6
him on the way. Now when he saw that of those who
had received orders only some had appeared on the spot, the 7
Prince asked why so few had come. But they answered:
„Why doth our Lord speak so, though he knows the whole 8
demeanour of the people. With whom is there no fear of
death? Our Lord is at an age immediately following that of 9
boyhood, even to-day the odour of milk plays about his lips.
There is no separate fortune acquired by thee, nor is there 10
any other accumulation of resources save these present. Ex- 11
cept for ourselves whose character has long been tested and
whose devotion is firmly rooted, who otherwise would follow
thee? And what thy father the Sovereign, will do with us 12
who have come hither, no man knows. In our path there is 13
still the Senāpati Saṅkha by name, a great and mighty hero
who has his abode on the frontier, apart from other foes, 14

[1] A *gāvuta* (skr. *gavyūti*) is a quarter of a yojana (DhCo. II. 13[4]), thus about two miles. PTS. P. D. s. v.

[2] See note to 58. 43; 64. 43.

and we few people are made one by the other ever more
15 terror-stricken And the time of daybreak is now close at
hand" Thus each for himself made known the fear that
16 dwelt in their hearts When the Prince heard their words
he smiled kindly, looked them fearlessly in the face and spake
17 "Although all these people here who have such fear, have
lived together with me a long time, yet have they not
18 learnt to know me", and to chase away the fear that had
risen in them, the lion-hearted let sound[1] a mighty lion's
19 roar "Leave all men aside, when I have my weapons in my
hand, what can Sakka, the King of the gods, do even if he
20 is enraged? Because ye thought I am a boy these foolish
thoughts have come to you Have ye not heard that one
21 looks up to splendid might, not to age? But if ye fear my
father's army will pursue me, then will I — by a single deed
22 that I have devised to carry out and in such a way that the
people in my own and in the other country shall offer me
23 fear and devotion and ye shall rid yourselves of this your
terror — at once, as soon as this night is past, manifest my
24 pre-eminent insight, determination and courage Go forward!"
With these words the hero seized his weapons, left that vil-
25 lage full of determination and like to a second image of the
sun risen in the western heavens to surpass the sun disk
26 standing on the summit of the eastern mountain, he lighted
up the lotus thicket of the eyes of his attendants and came
at early morn to Badalatthali

[1] It is interesting here to note the fundamental difference between the narrative of the Cūlavaṃsa and that of the older Mahāvaṃsa and between the ideas of their authors as shown particularly in the comparison of the personalities of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Parakkamabāhu In the one case deeds of true heroism culminating in the dauntless duel with Elāra, in the other big high sounding words as prelude to an action of very doubtful courage and of still more doubtful moral justification It is therefore significant that in Ceylon, more especially in Rohaṇa, one meets again and again with traditions connected with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi He is the real national hero of the Sinhalese and his name still lives in the popular memory Parakkamabāhu *is almost forgotten though he* is nearer by more than a thousand years to the present than the other

By the peal of the victorious trumpets the Senāpati (Saṅkha) 27
awoke. With consternation[1] he perceived that the Prince had
come. Accompanied by a great host he went forth to meet 28
him and full of reverence, bowed himself to the earth to offer
the customary homage. When with the thought: what may 29
not this man do to us if he remains alive? he must be slain
on the spot, the soldiers looked at their leader, but he checked 30
them with a sign, for he thought: it is unworthy of a man to
kill anyone against whom no guilt can be proven, only in
case of hostile demeanour is the death penalty permitted.
The lion-like (Prince) took the hand of the Senāpati, spake 31
friendly words to him and entered his abode. The Senāpati 32
thought: "The Prince's departure must have taken place
without the King's knowing of it. Until I learn the state of
affairs these people who have come with him, must be each 33
separately housed so that they may not remain in communi-
cation with him, the Prince however, must dwell in my house".
He did so, and in order to dupe the discerning (prince), he 34
paid him the honours due to a guest and sent messengers to
the King. Now when the Prince perceived the deception 35
practised by Saṅkha he thought: "If now without doing what
must be done, I remain inactive, of a truth my plan will 36
come to nought: this man must needs now be slain". He gave 37
one of his attendants the order to strike down[2] the Senāpati.
A great tumult arose: the Senāpati is slain. A soldier of the 38
Senāpati hearing that the general had been murdered, cried:
For what reason did the murder of my Lord take place? and 39
sword in hand, risking his own life for his Lord, he rushed
at the Prince standing there alone. But when he glanced at 40
the Prince's countenance, trembling with fear, he could not
stand upright and flung himself at his feet. Before the Prince 41
could say the words: "Seize him", one of the soldier's com-

[1] P. *saṃjātasaṃbhamo.* Not translated by W.

[2] As it is described here, the murder of Saṅkha who was a loyal and devoted adherent of the royal house, is an act as brutal as it is senseless. Probably the whole episode is in this form unhistorical. See Introduction I.

42 panions himself struck him down. "The deed he has done without my orders is unseemly", with these words the Prince
43 had him punished accordingly. But the terrible excitement which had arisen at the same time, the Prince stilled by the mere wrinkling of the brows.
44 The hero whose greatest wealth was fame, the Prince of firm character, who well understood the rewarding of his heroes, whose most precious treasure was his famous name, left his soldiers to take all what they would of the abundant property amassed by the Senāpati.

Here ends the sixty-fifth chapter, called "The Slaying of the Senāpati", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE SPYING OUT OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE OTHER COUNTRY

"If I were to set forth to-day to carry out my plan, 1
these people would think: the Prince has left through fear.
I will stay here and see what my father does as long as he has not 2
heard that I am staying here after the slaying of the Senāpati".
With such reflections the hero, the best of all far-seeing men, 3
sojourned a few days on the spot. The soldiers of the Senā- 4
pati and many people who dwelt in the province, who in con-
sequence of the slaying of the Senāpati, were seized with 5
terror were not able to remain each in his place, but sought
out the Prince, streaming together from all sides. "Acting in 6
opposition to his father the Prince has slain the Senāpati",
thought the inhabitants of the province. "If powerful people 7
like ourselves, whose devotion is deep-rooted, are his slaves[1]
what then is impossible for our Lord? If the (lawful) Lord 8
is in life, how dare thy uncle under the pretext, the prince
is still a boy, hold sway in the kingdom belonging to thy
father? We will join together, march on the town of Saṅ- 9
khatthalī and fetch hither by force the king together with
his treasure and his harem". With this firm resolve and bent 10
solely on the gaining of the dominion, they betook themselves
to the place Padavārasuññakaṇḍa by name. The Prince sent 11
some of his people thither, summoned the leaders of the sol-
diers to him (and spake to them): "Ye must not think that 12

[1] I read with the MSS. *dāsesu*. S 2 alone differs, for *daṃsesu* in S 3, 7 is only a variant in the writing. The *dakkhesu* adopted by S. and B. is an unnecessary alteration.

the slaying of the Senāpati by me took place out of enmity
13 to my father, away then with your agitation[1] I have in no
wise come hither in enmity to my royal father, nor do I mean
14 to bring this part of the province into my power For sons
such as I am is there not but one thing to do — to cause little
15 sorrow themselves to their aged fathers and to ward off the
evil which may be done them by another and so ever to serve
16 them with devotion Why have ye such thoughts?" Therewith
the prudent one removed their scruples and reflecting on his
17 further course, came to this decision "If I sojourn here some
days, illmeaning people will try to sow discord between us
18 twain, father and son Without lingering here I must arise
and busy myself with the carrying out of my former plans"
19 Therewith the Prince left the village of Badalatthali to
betake himself to Buddhagāma near the Sirideva mountain
20 Before he reached the village of Siriyāla[2] the inhabitants[3]
21 *who had banded together, fled* on *every side Accompanied*
alone by his own followers, the heroic prince now advanced
22 well armed along the highway 'Now if we quietly suffer
the prince to escape after his having slain the Senāpati, what

[1] W translates ill will towards me That is I believe, wrong The context is rather this the people have taken the killing of Saṅkha as a sign that the prince is in open rebellion against his uncle They take his side and civil war threatens To hinder this Parakkamabāhu explains to the people that there is no enmity between himself and his uncle and exhorts them to keep quiet

[2] The topographical problems have been most satisfactorily solved by CODRINGTON (I 66) Following Mr STOREY he identifies **Buddhagama** (see note 58 43) with **Menikdena** S S W of Dambul since an inscription was found there in which a Budgam vehera is mentioned (ASC 1908 = VI 1913 p 14 f) Near there is a mountain Nikula which according to FORBES was formerly called Heereedevatai, that is **Siri devi** Before Parakkamabahu got there he passed **Siriyāla** That is without doubt the present **Hiriyalgama** in the Gantihe Korale which gives its name to the Hiriyala district north of Kurunegala.

[3] While the inhabitants of the Badalatthali district were not d. inclined *to support the Prince against his uncle* those of Siriyāla and later, to a greater extent, those of Buddhagāma showed themselves hostile even inclined to capture him and give him up to the king

kind of loyalty would that be on our part to the King who
gives us our daily bread?" So thought certain traitors, con- 23
ceived the plan of capturing him and pursued him from be-
hind while he was on the march. Without being in the least 24
afraid of them, the Prince fought them sword in hand and
scattered them in flight. Together with his followers among 25
whom no falling off was noticeable[1], the discerning Prince,
free of all danger, reached Buddhagāma. When a few days 26
of his sojourn there had passed, the inhabitants assembled
together to capture the Prince. Raining a furious, uninter- 27
rupted shower of arrows, they surrounded the village full of
zeal to begin the fight. "We must give up our lives if he 28
benefits thereby" thought the soldiers who had come with
him and, flurried by fear all, save the umbrella-bearer and 29
the sword-bearer of the Prince, fled on every side before
the Prince's eyes. When he saw his soldiers fleeing, he smil- 30
ed a little and having now found an opportunity of showing
his extraordinary courage, the Prince thought: „With my 31
weapon even will I strike terror into the foe and scatter
him in flight", and cried with vehemence: "Give me my
sword!" When the soldiers who had at first fled, heard along 32
with these loud and resoundingly spoken words, the blare of
the victorious trumpets penetrating the circle of the firmament, 33
and when they saw the struck off heads of the foe, falling
to the ground, they turned and fighting, scattered the troops 34
some thousands in number in flight, surrounded the Prince
and praised his courage.

While now the Prince sojourned there he desired to have 35
the nagaragiri[2] of King Gajabāhu, Gokaṇṇa[3], who had the
control of Kālavāpi, in his presence, to find out his views. 36

[1] P. *adiṭṭhaparihānike*, quite ignored in W's translation. It must hewever be emphasised that not one of the original followers of the Prince had deserted him.

[2] The title *nagaragiri* is met with here for the first time (cf. also 66. 62 and 70. 68). See Introduction III.

[3] *Gokaṇṇa* is probably a clan name (see above 38. 13, note); skr. *gokarṇa*, P. *gokaṇṇa* denotes a species of stag, an elk.

He sent therefore, one of his henchmen to him with a letter
37 When the latter saw the missive he nodded consent, read it
38 and learned from it of all that had taken place Believing
that the superiority of the Prince's forces made disobedience
39 to his commands an impossibility and without waiting for
news as to the opinion[1] of his own Monarch, he came to
40 Buddhagāma and sought out the Prince with reverence "Thou
hast heard how I have come hither away from my father the
King, how I have caused the violent death of the mighty
41 Senāpati, and how I have performed marvellous deeds of he-
42 roism against the foe following in my rear Without even
a thought that thou shouldst learn the opinion of thine own
king, while before the sending of my messenger no connec-
43 tion (between us) existed, thou (nevertheless) settest out to
see me the moment thou didst see my letter, thou hast done
44 well," with these words the Prince full of joy, presented him
with all the ornaments he had himself worn, consisting of divers
45 precious stones, along with an excellent elephant To the
leaders among his soldiers he gave valuable ornaments of
46 divers kinds, such as costly earrings and the like Hereupon
he dismissed the chief (Gokaṇṇa) with his soldiers that they
might rest, having shown himself friendly to them by the
assigning of dwellings, food and the like

47 Arrived in his quarters for the night, Gokaṇṇa beheld
himself in a dream in the form[2] of the Senāpati who had
48 been murdered at the Prince's command, surrounded on all
sides by robbers with swords in their hands to kill him In
49 mortal terror he gave a shriek and fell from his bed to the
50 ground, and without heed for the people who bore his sword, his
umbrella and the like, he left the whole of the force which
had come with him in the lurch But as he could not even
51 find his way by the heavens, he got into a great forest and
losing the path, wandered about in it Only at daybreak did

[1] P *bhāva* (the same in v 42) in reality 'kind, character', then 'attitude towards something, conception

[2] Thus I explain the riya he saw himself (*attānam*) as the Senāpati.

he find the road leading to Kālavāpi, followed it in haste 52
and reached his village. His men too, when they heard of
the flight of their lord, seeing no other escape, smitten with 53
the greatest terror, left each of them his[1] weapons behind and
wandered like their master bewildered about the forest, reaching 54
Kālavāpi in haste at break of day. When the Prince heard 55
the story of the flight he smiled and remained there (in
Buddhagāma) a few days longer. And from that time this 56
story was for him who appreciated humorous tales[2], a means
in moments when he was downhearted, of chasing away his
depression.

When Kittisirimegha heard of all these events he sum- 57
moned his great dignitaries together and took counsel with
them: "The Prince has escaped in disguise from our well 58
protected town, looked after by officials and filled with soldiers.
Thereupon together with certain villainous and undutiful people 59
who went with him from here[3], he has fled, has slain the 60
mightiest vassal in my kingdom, the Senāpati, has seized the
whole of the costly property accumulated by him, has then in
his flight slain here and there many soldiers among the country 61
folk who pursued him, has summoned to him the nagaragiri 62
Gokaṇṇa of King Gajabāhu[4] and has brought him under his
influence and now sojourns in Buddhagāma[5]. This is no time 63
to look on inactively. If the foe in this threatening situation[6]

[1] Note the free treatment of the gender in *āyudhāni . . . sake sake.*

[2] P. *nānābhassarasa*, lit. "for the many kinds of tastes in narratives". One might read *nānāhassarasa: hassa* = skr. *hāsya* is the cheerful laughter-rousing fundamental character (*rasa*) of a literary work.

[3] The MS. reading *te tato* in 59 b is disturbing. It is difficult to place *te* in the construction of the sentence and *tato* stands already at the beginning of the verse. I propose reading *ten' ato: tena* is comitative "with him" and *ato* means "from here" that is from Saṅkhatthalī.

[4] The same wording as in v. 35 c b.

[5] The present part. *vasaṃ* stands here again instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state. Cf. note to 41. 89.

[6] P. *asmiṃ chiddamhi*, lit. "at this break" (= weakness, want), or possibly in the original meaning "at this moment where a division (an estrangement between me and my nephew) has taken place".

64 make a treacherous treaty with the Prince who is favoured by fortune and gifted with insight and courage, and think
65 to begin war, that will be for us a great misfortune Before he can think out other worse plans he must be seized during
66 his stay in that village" Thus resolved, he summoned the two Adhikārins[1], Sena and Mahinda by name, further Mangalīna,
67 the son of a royal servant[2], as well as other retainers and sent them forth with the words "Take with you all people
68 in my kingdom who live by soldiering, go forth in haste
69 and bring the Prince hither by force" These took each his great army and with powerful forces divided into ten columns
70 they approached Siriyāla When the Prince heard thereof he thought "I will take up my position at a spot difficult to pass[3], in such a way as to force the troops which are marching separately in ten columns, to join each other and then
71 I shall immediately destroy them" The hero betook himself in haste from Buddhagāma to Saraggāma[4] in the district of
72 *Mahātila. The officers (of Kittisirimegha) thought however* „if the Prince flees from Buddhagāma and withdraws into an
73 *impassible region surrounded by mountains, his capture will* be difficult, whatever means one uses", and marched united
74 thither When the Prince heard that he rejoiced at the success of his plan In front he left space for the advancing army,
75 placed his numerous men on both sides of the road, hidden, well

[1] From 70 276 it is clear that *adhikarin* denotes a certain office or a certain rank See Introduction III

[2] W seems here to adopt the reading *mahālānam* of the Col Ed which however has no support from the MSS and translates 'the mahālāna' — with the note 'chief secretary' (?) — Devaj idamule Diraka The word *pādamūlaka* or *lika* with the meaning of servant occurs frequently in the Jatakas (PTS P D s v also DhCo I 183[4])

[3] Not 'at such a stronghold' as W translates It is a case of a narrow pass in the mountains

[4] Saraggama has certainly nothing to do with Sarogamatittha on the Mahāvālukagaṅga (71 18, 72 1 31) Codrington identifies it following Storer, with Selagama in the District Matale Aigiri Palleśiya Pattuva (Census of C 1921 II p 91) Instead of 'from Buddhagama' the text has simply *tato* 'from there', the same in v 72

armed, such as were deemed especially brave. Then when 76
the mighty one saw that the whole of the hostile force had
advanced to the centre, he experienced in the art of war,
had numbers of soldiers cut down. Those who remained over 77
from the slaughter threw their weapons away as the case
might be and fled, with no thought of renewing the fight,
on all sides. The victorious Prince left the place thereupon 78
and betook himself to Bodhigāmavara[1] there to await his father's
decisions[2]. Sojourning there the hero spent several days and 79
after scattering in that same place a (further) army which
came forth to fight at the command of his father the King, 80
he retired from thence and betook himself to the village of
Ranambura in the region of the Laṅkā mountains[3]. To 81
remove the footsoreness of his soldiers the intrepid one
spent several days sojourning there. Then he reflected thus: 82
"Although my foes have all been repeatedly crushed by me
in battle, they will not retire out of fear of my father, gi-
ving up the hope (of success) in fight. Because their evil 83
counsellors have wrongly thought: this Prince falls not into
our power only because he is in inaccessible country, there- 84
fore I shall now betake myself to the spot where they are
sojourning and drive away their evil thoughts". He advanced 85

[1] W. translates "returned to the village Bodhigāma. He thus obviously considers Bodhigāmavara to be the same as Buddhagāma. But the text has not *paccagā* "he returned", but *agā* "he went". CODRINGTON (I. 69) regards Bodhigāmavara as the present B o g a m b a r a in the Matale Pallesiya Pattuva (N. E. of Matale). The prince thus stayed near the battlefield to await the development of events.

[2] P. *pitucittānurakkhattham*. W's translation "that he might calm the anxiety of his father" is wrong. All Parakkamabāhu's actions have the character of open enmity and are opposed to the fiction of the compiler that no conflict had taken place between uncle and nephew.

[3] The Prince withdrew from Bodhigāmavara further E. or N. E. There is no doubt that the name Laṅkāpabbata or Laṅkāgiri (thus 70. 88, mentioned again in connection with Bodhigāmavara) is preserved in the present L a g g a l a, the name of a district between Matale Pallesiya Pattuva and the Mahaveliganga. It is also advisable to read instead of the *Ratamburaṃ* of the Col. Ed., *Ranamburaṃ* in which CODRINGTON recognises the present R a n a m u r e in Laggala Udasiya Pattuva.

to the village of Khiravāpi occupied by their army and
86 reached the district called Ambavana[1] He occupied it and
having found out himself from the people there the exact
route to march against the foe[2], he set out in the evening
87 and reached the village at night When his soldiers reached
the enclosure consisting of terrible briers full of prickles from
top to bottom[3], *they stayed without*, being unable to pene-
88 trate it The hero placed himself at the head, broke fearlessly
through the fence, and standing in the middle of the village
89 called out his name The enemy who had already witnessed
the marvellous courage of the Prince, were seized with terror
90 when they heard his resounding voice and all (of them)
without even thinking of clothes or weapons, fled on all
91 sides, like gazelles that have caught sight of a lion His
soldiers who had entered by the way he had forced, slew
whomsoever they caught sight of, and set fire to the village
92 The Prince immediately marched to the village of Nāvāgirisa
and resting there awaited the dawn

93 The dignitaries of his father, the King, now assembled
and spoke with each other of the great energy (of the Prince)
94 in the various battles "With our plan of capturing the Prince
quickly with our forces of so many thousand men, we have
95 brought ruin on our own army, and since they have everywhere
fled in fight, we have only caused the Prince's fame to become
96 more widely known But if we disregard the terrible com-
mand sent us repeatedly by the King, *then the life of our*
97 kinsfolk is at stake[4] It is not meet that we spend our time
here without taking pains to carry out the King's command
98 by every possible means Even at the cost of our lives we

[1] The name is preserved in that of the Ambanganga (*Coostsoros*) which flows through the valley of Matale and turns eastward at Nalanda towards the Mahaveliganga.

[2] P *etehi* refers to the inhabitants of Ambavana *tesam* to the enemy *samcāra* means the possibility of approaching the enemy

[3] So I understand *tikkhaggapada* where the top part (*agga*) and the foot end (*pada*) are sharp"

[4] They are hostages in the hands of the king

must satisfy the Lord who gives us our living, and thereby
ensure the protection of our kindred". Therewith full of 99
defiant courage, with large, well armed forces, they set forth
like the army of Māra on a road shown them by scouts.
From four sides they forced their way into the village and 100
surrounded the Prince's house. As the hilly region was cool, 101
the latter had donned a red woollen shawl and sat there
playing a game to which he was accustomed from his child-
hood. From the noise he noticed that the foe was quite 102
near, but since he saw not one of his own followers, he at
once bound his topknot fast, wrapped himself tightly in the 103
woollen shawl he had been wearing, and terrible, sword in
hand, he plunged like a savage lion into the middle of the 104
fight and in a moment chased the whole of the enemy to
the world's end[1]. Then after raising his voice and calling 105
together his own people who had come with him and who
terrorized by the clamour, had fled into the wilderness, he
reflected: "The fear which must beset the King of the hostile 106
party[2] when he thinks what may be the cause of my leaving
the King my father and coming hither — all that I have hitherto 107
done, beginning with the slaying of the Senāpati[3], suffices to
remove it. I must now betake myself to the other country".
Therewith he set forth thence and at the place Porogābāli- 108
khaṇḍa[4] he cleansed by the pouring over with water the
blood stains[5] from sword and hand[6], laid aside the blood- 109

[1] Lit.: "he made the enemy (*dise*) into such as turned themselves to the end of the firmament (*disānta*)".

[2] I. e. Gajabāhu.

[3] The train of thought is this: It is intelligible that Gajabāhu should regard my coming with distrust. He may fear that I intend evil towards him. But all my actions so far have been directed not against him but against my father. This should allay his fears so that I can now enter his country without danger.

[4] I prefer to read °*gāhāli*° (instead of °*gāhāli*°) because the name seems to me to contain the word *āli* "canal" (Sinh. *äla*). *Khaṇḍa* means "district", a narrower area than *raṭṭha* or *maṇḍala*.

[5] Lit. "the union with the red blood".

[6] Or perhaps "from the sword hand", from the hand which had wielded the sword.

on the body[1] he had disguised as wandering musicians, as
133 caṇḍālas and as brāhmaṇas Amongst the many Damilas and
others he made such as were practised in dance and song[2],
appear as people who played with leather dolls and the like.
134 Others again after they had laid aside their own garb, he ordered
to go round[3] selling goods such as rings and bracelets of glass and
135 the like Others again he sent forth with the command that they
should go in the garb of ascetics[4], with the equipment of such,
136 the umbrella, the beggar's staff and the like, wandering like
unto pious pilgrims from village to village and thereby
137 performing their devotions in front of the cetiyas People
versed in the art of healing he commanded to seek out villages and market towns and there to practise the healing
138 art[5] Such as understood the instruction of boys in the art
of writing and in the handling of weapons, who were skilled
in the preparation of magic potions and versed in spirit in-
139 cantation as well as craftsmen possessed of skill in the working of gold and the like he ordered to move from place to
140 place, practising their profession In order to find out himself the actual conditions as these existed amongst the inhabitants of the inner district (of the town), he by showing a
141 great innocence founded on his youth, learned amongst the
people who came to him under the pretext of entertainment
142 and who dwelt on the weakness of the King, to distinguish
amongst the highest officials, officers and soldiers those who were
ambitious, those who nursed a grudge, those who were afraid

[1] According to the Kauṭalīya I 12, the knowledge of the *lakṣaṇa* and of the *aṅgavidyā* belongs to the equipment of a particular kind of spy These are the so-called *sattrinaḥ saṃsargavidyāḥ*

[2] The *naṭa nartaka gāyana-vādaka vāgjīvana kuśīlavāḥ* of the Kauṭaliya (I 12)

[3] In the Kauṭalīya (I 11) the *vaidehakavyañjanaḥ*, the spy disguised as trader Peddling with bracelets of glass and similar trinkets is common in the villages of Ceylon at the present day

[4] Kauṭalīya I 11 deals with the *tāpasa* as spy (*muṇḍo vā jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmastāpasavyañjanaḥ*)

[5] The strolling quack is missing in the Kauṭalīya as well as the strolling schoolmaster and the strolling craftsman

and those who were avaricious[1]. He took care[2] too, that 143
spies who were versed in the divers rites and ceremonies[3] in
use in the various schools and who knew the tales from the
Itihāsas, Purāṇas and many other books, should visit the dif- 144
ferent houses in the assumed garb of samaṇas. As soon then
as confidence in them had been established, and when they
had found trust and reverence, they came forward as (spi- 145
ritual) advisers, estranged the people and brought them under
their influence. Believing that if the King were made un- 146
suspicious, he could then move about as he would, and easily
learn the actual conditions in the interior of the country, he 147
sent a letter to his mother who was dwelling in Rohaṇa,
fetched thence his younger sister, the charming Princess
Bhaddavatī, as well as abundant money, under the pretext that 148
it was her property. The money he took to himself but the 149
Princess he wedded to the Lord of men Gajabāhu and so ma-
naged matters that the Ruler completely trusted him even as 150
also the royal family[4]. He used also under the pretence of
sport, to go about the streets with a rutting elephant that

[1] The *Kauṭalīya* I. 14 distinguishes in exactly the same way, four groups amongst those who can be manipulated and won over for one's own schemes. The close relation of our passage to the Arthaśāstra and the allied literature is shown by the fact that the terms are the same in Sanskrit and in Pāli: 1) the *kruddhavargaḥ* = P. *saṃkuddhā*, the group of the indignant, 2) the *bhītavargaḥ* = P. *bhītā*, the group of the fearful, 3) the *lubdhavargaḥ* = P. *luddhā*, the group of the avaricious and, 4) the *mānivargaḥ* = P. *abhimānino*, the group of the ambitious. The last group is placed first by the Cūlavaṃsa. For the whole subject cf. W. Geiger, Kenntnis der Indischen Nītiliteratur in Ceylon, Festschrift für H. Jacobi (Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens), p. 418 ff.

[2] P. *vidhānaṃ tathā kari yathā* . . . in v. 145: "he acted in the way, arranged it so that . . ."

[3] P. *upāya-vidhāna*, not "folklore" as translated by W. The Kauṭalīya I. 9 uses *upāya* along with *atharvan* in the meaning of "rite, sorcery".

[4] W's translation is wrong. He has not realised that *tato rājakulaṃ* belongs still to the preceding. The Sinhalese translators S. and B. have also overlooked it.

151 had rut discharge, and when he was pursued by it would quickly flee under the pretext that refuge was difficult to find, into the house of people who were to be brought under his in-
152 fluence He then gave them fitting money reward, costly ornaments and the like and brought them thus imperceptibly
153 under his influence All the people down to the lowest grades, and the soldiers who dwelt in the town, thought, each for
154 himself that this courtesy was paid to him Thereupon he ordered his skilled scribes to make an estimate of the King's revenues, of his stocks of grain, of his troops, of his various
155 war material and so on, with the charge record these by stealing into the various departments of the administration[1]
156 Others he appointed to find out the inmost thoughts of the people entrusted with the guarding of the town and (of those)
157 of the leaders of the army He himself under the pretext of youthful pastimes, roamed about everywhere and thus, avoiding every peril, explored the conditions in both spheres[2]
158 When the wise man realises how all enterprises undertaken by beings equipped with a great fulness of meritorious deeds accumulated in previous existences, have a successful issue, not meeting with any hindering cause, he will certainly do good

Here ends the sixty-sixth chapter, called "The Spying out of the Conditions in the other Country", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] Lit 'groups of scribes (*lekhaka*)'
[2] What is meant is *antomandalam* the territory inside the town and *bahimandalam* that outside of the town Cf above v 129 140

CHAPTER LXVII

THE FESTIVAL OF THE MAHĀDIPĀDA

Now one day the Prince mounted his chariot and drove, 1
accompanied by his retainers, along the King's highway. Then 2
a terrible buffalo broken loose, that killed everyone it saw,
with rolling bloodshot eyes sprang upon him. When the 3
charioteer and the people of the retinue saw it dashing on-
wards, seized with fear they fled in haste. Then the Prince 4
thought: it is not meet for me to flee like those there, and
fearless and without excitement, the hero swiftly went for him 5
and called to him suddenly with loud resounding voice. When 6
the buffalo heard this, like to a lion's roar, it turned in terror
and ran away, killing or trampling down everyone it met.
All who had seen the miracle with their own eyes or had 7
heard of it broke, full of astonishment, into words of admira-
tion: "Behold the heroism, behold the courage, behold the 8
determination, behold his steadfastness, behold the effect of
his meritorious deeds!"

When the Ruler of men Gajabāhu heard how the people 9
praised his bravery and his other qualities, he thought: that 10
is a great man, of terrible courage whose extraordinary might
cannot be compared with that of others, and he began to be
afraid of him. Now when the Prince perceived the suspicious 11
thoughts which had arisen in the King Gajabāhu he reflected
thus: "If I wish while sojourning here, to achieve the so- 12
vereignty, I shall without doubt succeed by the mere wrinkling
of my brows. But in this case my dignity, and my extra- 13
ordinary courage and the strength of my arms will have no
renown in the world. And the incessant twitching in my arms 14
will nevermore cease without the pastime of a war game.

15 Therefore I will return to the land of my birth, overwhelm
this king by war and capture him and his retainers alive
16 Then when I bring my father Kittisirimegha into this town
and by the water of the royal coronation which will be poured
17 on his head, I efface the shame of the defeat of my three
fathers — then will my fame spread itself also over Jambudipa."
18 Hereupon he found out through hunters a way of approach
for the army in making an assault on the town and a way
19 for its retirement, if there should be cause for retreat, as well
as a way suitable for his own spies, well understanding how
20 to discriminate between the different ways, while he himself
under the pretext of the chase, wandered about the forest
near the town, and distinguished the main roads from the
bypaths by particular signs

21 Mindful of the words of the Buddha: if one lets time slip
away, time drinks up the best[1], he with the intention of be-
22 taking himself to his own country, then sent away first of
all his followers having fixed the goal where one should meet,
23 in the locality of Janapada[2]. But as he thought, that after
having stayed there so long it was not in keeping with his
24 manliness, to leave without giving notice thereof, he paid a
visit in the evening in richly decorated attire, to the King
25 Gajabāhu. Then when twilight had come when people were
wont to amuse themselves with divers games, he smiling, with
26 cheerful mien, spake thus "I must start even to-day to be-
take myself to the province of the Yuvarāja, and having paid
27 a visit to my father, then return hither in haste" When
the King heard this, thanks to his naturally defective under-
28 standing, he thought he had said this with reference to his

[1] Lit. "In the passing of time time drinks away the sap (*rasa*) thereof That is a work loses its value if it is not carried out without hesitation This is held to be a *buddhavaco*, like many ancient sayings of wisdom S and B have changed the word evidently because it is not to be found in the Canon, into *vuddhavaco* "ancient saying" (thus W) I think however, that *vuddha* is only used of age in respect of human life

[2] Thus already near the frontier of Dakkhiṇadesa See note to 66. 110

intention to betake himself to his house[1], and said to him with cheerful smile the favourable words: "May what you 29 have in mind be swiftly fulfilled!"[2] The chief Brāhmaṇa who stood near the King likewise at the same moment spake a favourable word of happy augury of which it is acknow- 30 ledged that it aims at the abundant accumulation (of means) for the attainment of an object, for peace and victory and for the destruction of the hostile party. When the Prince 31 heard that, he thought with joy: the present constellation is favourable to my course, and betook himself to his home.

Thereupon the Prince great in virtue and insight, hearing 32 and seeing favourable omens of many kinds, left the house. Running as if in fun after his elephant called Rāmakula, he 33 roamed from street to street and left the town at night. By 34 moonlight wandering thence, he met a man resting at the foot of a tree and asked him who he was. When he heard 35 that he was a wayfarer he spake quickly with raised voice: "Dost thou know me?" The other stood silent from fear. "Ādipāda Parakkamabāhu, so they call me; fear not". With 36 these words he quickly quieted him and won him for himself. He spake to him: "That I met thee here was in truth for me 37 a great gain. Betake thee now in all haste to the camp and 38 tell there thou hast seen Prince Parakkamabāhu on the way into his own country". With that he sent him off hurriedly. Near the Khajjūrakavaḍḍhamāna tank he kept a lookout 39 whether a force were in pursuit of him. As the Prince 40 saw no troop pursuing him, he set out to betake himself to (the place) called Kāṇapaddāuda. A dreadful, savage she-bear. 41 with great sharp claws[3], sprang at him in the vast wilder-

[1] Lit.: "with reference to the going to his own house". Thus Gaja-bāhu takes *yuvarājaraṭṭha* as a joking expression of Parakkamabāhu's for his house, as he is of course playing the part of *yuvarāja*. The King does not for a moment think that Dakkhiṇadesa is meant. Even the words *vidhāya pitudassanaṃ* he refers to himself not to Kitti-sirimegha.

[2] These are words of favourable augury, [illegible] which the Prince at once applies to his high-soaring plans.

[3] The jungle bear (*melursus labiatus*) native to Ceylon, is distinguished by its enormous claws.

42 ness with her cubs, with a fearful howl. Forcing her down
with the edge of his shield, he split her with his sword in
two halves, but with the back of his foot he quickly cast off
43 the cubs. He then called together his comrades who had
fled in fear into the forest. While hereupon still free from
44 fear, he passed over rocky country[1], he brought down a boar
terrible beyond all measure, who had attacked him as if it
were a whole herd[2], and who gave vent to a terrible grunt.
45 Then when marching further at the village of Demeliyagama[3]
at daybreak, he beheld the peasants who were named after
46 it[4], setting forth sword in hand on some kind of enterprise,
he thinking they came at the head of the (pursuing) army[5],
47 smote vehemently with his sword on his shield and with a
48 savage cry: "I will slay the villains" sprang into the midst
of them like a lion among gazelles. They fled frightened into
49 the big forest, throwing away their weapons. Thereupon the
Prince looked thither on every side and when he saw a man
50 who had fallen into a chasm, he drew him out of the abyss
and asked him who they were. When he had heard out of
his mouth the state of affairs in accordance with the truth,
51 he spake full of pity: "Leave off fearing everyone and take
up your weapons", and declared to them openly his own
52 purpose. Near Maugalabegāma he saw for the first time sol-

[1] P. *silākhandam* W takes the word for a proper name.

[2] The Col Ed changes the MSS reading *yathā yūthābhiyantam* unnecessarily into *tathā y°* W. accordingly translates "leading a herd"

[3] *The form of the name is quite uncertain. The MSS waver* The Col Ed. has *Demeliyanaga* but it is just the *m* which is present in all the MSS

[4] The passage is very difficult. W. takes *ropanāmike* as a place name, but the locality is already given in *Demeliyagamachaye gāme* I think that *ropanāmike* belongs to the immediately preceding *gāmike* and that the word corresponds to a Skr **aupanāmika* (**upanāman* "sur name, nickname") *Gāmike ropanāmike* thus means the same as *Demeliyagamagāmike*

[5] We must connect *puretaram* with *yāna* (abl), *yāna* has the meaning of the Latin *agmen* Lit here they come in advance of the army (oratio recta)

diers of his retinue[1] who had come according to the agree-
ment, and accompanied by them, he betook himself to the 53
locality called Janapada and joined his retinue who had ar-
rived there beforehand[2]. The Prince tarried there with his 54
people two or three days, giving himself up to the pleasures
of the chase and various other entertainments.

When King Kittisirimegha now learned from a letter sent 55
him by his watchmen, that his son had betaken himself
thither, he rejoiced in the thought that after the Prince had 56
sojourned so long with the enemy, he had now without tak-
ing any harm, happily escaped out of the power of the foe.
With the command: "Ye must, my friends, without delay bring 57
hither to me the son who chases away my grief, and before
a hindrance arises, show him to me", he sent to him people 58
from the five groups of menials, who were known to be
courageous[3], together with an autograph letter and gifts.

[1] P. *bhaṭe sahavaḍḍhite*. Cf. with this *sahavaḍḍhitānaṃ amaccānaṃ* 68. 5, *sahavaḍḍhitayodhehi* 70. 189, as well as *saddhiṃvaḍḍhitaposesu* 70. 277. The meaning of *sahavaḍḍhita* is apparently the same as that of *sahāgata* "come along with", and then "belonging to the immediate retinue". Is there perhaps a connection between *vaḍḍhita* and the Sinh. *vaḍinavā*?

[2] The localities, *Khajjūravaḍḍhamāna*, *Kāṇapaddāuda*, *Demeliyagama* and *Maṅgalabegāma* all lie on a line running from Polonnaruva to east of Dambul. See note to 66. 110. The Prince had covered the distance — about 20—25 miles as the crow flies — in a night and part of the following day, reaching Demeliyagama at daybreak. His retinue expect him according to agreement (see 67. 22) at Janapada, and from here according to orders, some people have come to Maṅgalabegāma to meet him. Of this place Codrington says (I. 70): "Maṅgalaba seems to represent some such name as Magul-ebé; a Makul-ebé is said locally to be between Konduraveva and Puvakgaha Ulpota in Matale District."

[3] The Col. Ed. has *nāyaka*° and W. accordingly translates: "reputed heads of the five trades". But the MSS. have all *nāsaka*° which points rather to *nāsaṅka*° (after *jane* = *anāsaṅka*°). Kittisirimegha entrusts with the commission people whose hearts are in the right place, bearing in mind the violent death suffered by the Senāpati Saṅkha. According to W. *pessiyā* were artisans, such as carpenters, weavers, washermen, barbers and shoemakers (note to the passage). In 84. 5 in addition to

59 The Prince was glad when he saw the people and the presents
they had brought, and betook himself thence to Saraggāma[1]
60 desirous of meeting again with his father Now when Kit-
61 tisirimegha heard that his son was there, he sent thither the
head of the Kuthārasabhā[2] as well as Abhaya, the chief of
the ascetics, who dwelt in the Pañcapariveṇamūla monastery
with the order to fetch him hither without loss of time
62 When the Prince had learned the circumstances of his royal
father as narrated by them, he spake if the stars are fa-
63 vourable, I will depart and ye must go with me, and for yet
a few days he passed the time with games at waterfalls and
other pleasant places

64 When the Prince's companions saw the soldiers who came
from every side, to seek the officials with the chief of the
65 Sabhā at their head, they remembering the wrong they had
themselves formerly done[3] the King by their adherence to
66 the Prince, became agitated through fear And they spake
to one another "Many soldiers are gathering here from
divers places Hard to see through are the intentions of these
67 officials They are all united here, surround us on every side
and taking us in the centre, have occupied the various places".
68 And being perturbed, they told *the matter also to the King's son*
69 He was wroth "Never and nowhere do all these cowards look
at things as they really are, and therefore they see nothing
70 but danger where no danger is. At the sight of the village
guard who have come to see the head of the Sabhā they

the five ten *pessiyaraggā* are distinguished They are *rājakulāyatta*, belong to the royal household

[1] See note to 66 71

[2] *Kuthārādisabhā* is as so often, nothing but a paraphrase for *Kuthārasabhā* (see note to 44 6) It is a case of some kind of council chamber (*sabhā*) The word *kuthāra* means axe. Instead of °*rān bhaya*° the Col Ed reads °*rāñca*, thus the name of the priest is missing here

[3] The following translation is also possible "remembering the wanton deed which they themselves in common with the Prince had committed against the King" The sentence would then contain an allusion to the murder of the Senāpati Saṅkha.

talk contemptible nonsense to me" — and he spake to them 71
words to this effect. But they melted away gradually hither and
thither. When the Prince heard of it he spake: "Although 72
they have witnessed my courage on divers occasions and their
own rescue over and over again by me from evil situations, 73
their inborn cowardice doth not forsake these cravens. What
boots it me whether they stay here or run away, and what 74
man can plot anything and what (can he plot) so long as
I live?" And he spent yet some time tarrying there.

When Queen Ratanāvalī heard that her son was there, 75
but that he was not coming with the (envoys) sent out by
his father, she thought: "It is not meet that grief should 76
be caused to the King by my son passing the time without
coming; I will myself at once bring my son to the Monarch and 77
present him, to him". Thereupon she came in haste from
Rohaṇa hither, betook herself to Saṅkhanāthatthalī, sought 78
out the Ruler, exchanged with him many friendly words and,
asked by the Monarch, she informed him of the reason for her 79
coming. Then she went thence to Saraggāma, sought out her 80
son, the Thera, the chief of the ascetics, and the head of the
Sabhā and took close counsel with them as to what was to
be done. And as (in her opinion) it was not at all seemly 81
to linger far (from the capital), she took the Prince along
with her and betook herself to Badalatthalī. Together with 82
the Senāpati Deva[1] stationed there she went to Saṅkhanā-
thatthalī and presented (the Prince) to his father, the King.
When then Kittisirimegha beheld his son, he spake in his 83
love to the highest officials thus: "To-day the arrow of 84
anxiety as to who here might look after me in my old age
and show me the last honours, is taken out of my soul. But 85
think not that it is for me only a blessing, is it not also for
you a reward brought forth by former merits? From now 86
onwards ye must all yield obedience to the Prince". With
these words the King commended to them his son. While 87

[1] Deva who is here called *senādhipati*, was apparently the successor of the murdered Saṅkha. Like the latter he lived at Badalatthalī.

the officials full of zeal, did according to his command, King Kittisirimegha departed this life
88 The steadfast Prince who knew the writings of the Master (Buddha)[1], was not mastered by the agitation called forth by
89 the grief at his father's death He comforted the inhabitants of the kingdom beginning with the high dignitaries, carried out the fire burial of his father in a manner worthy of him,
90 appointed here and there in the country and on the frontiers of the realm loyally devoted officials amongst his immediate
91 followers[2] Then versed in the laws valid for the nobility, at a favourable constellation, during the festival of the bind-
92 ing on of the frontlet denoting the rank of mahādipāda he held a solemn procession — he the ornament of Laṅkā, adorned with all ornaments, around the town adorned with every or-
93 nament in every way — he the mighty round the troop-filled (town), he the most dexterous riding on his elephant — even
94 as the King of the gods round the city of the gods[3]. By the rain of an abundant gift of money to the samaṇas and the brāhmaṇas and others he stilled then the persistence of the
95 glow of their poverty To the King Gajabāhu and to the King Mānābharaṇa he sent hereupon his envoys to inform them of the affair[4]

[1] P *ñātasatthāgama* It is doubtful whether *sattha* contains the Skr *śastra* or *sāstṛ* (P *satthar*) W seems to assume the former, since he translates 'versed in all knowledge and religion' I think the latter and take *satthāgama* as a synonym of *buddhāgama*. The Buddha teaches in the sacred scriptures, absolute quiet of soul, indifference towards joy and sorrow

[2] W translates "officers whom he had trained That is in itself unobjectionable *Niyaraddhita* would correspond then to Skr *niya-raddhita* = *svaraddhita* (BR s v *niya* near the end) I find it difficult however, to separate *niyaraddhita* from the *sahāraddhita* so often used in the same context See note to 67 61

[3] The whole section is full of puns Notice in v 91 *nakkhatta* and *khatta*, in v 92 *alaṅkāra* and *alaṅkata*, *sekha* and *sekhara*, in v 93 *pabala* and *bala*, *dakkhiṇeyya* and *padakkhiṇa* (which I have rendered by 'solemn procession') as well as *akara* and *karuṇa*, [illegible] *rālayam*

[4] Thus he observes diplomatic courtesy in notifying the change of

He (Parakkamabāhu) who had won[1] the hearts of his many officers through the fulness of his excellent qualities, who had reduced all hostility to nothing[2], who had won lustrous glory, whose wealth consisted in his renown which filled the whole universe, dwelt in that town doing much good. 96

Here ends the sixty-seventh chapter, called "The Festival of the Mahādipāda", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

reign. But it is to be noted that he assumes the title of *mahādipāda*. This looks like modesty, but it includes as against Gajabāhu, for future time the claim to the crown in the whole of the kingdom.

[1] *nīta*, lit. "directed, led" is to be taken in the sense of *vasaṃ nīta* "brought under his influence, won over for himself".

[2] For *vidhunita* cf. skr. *dhū* with *vi*, in BR. 2.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE IMPROVEMENT OF HIS OWN KINGDOM

1 With his high-soaring plans and with his exact knowledge
of the other country, though now in possession of the royal
dignity, he did not give way to empty boasting[1] (such as)
2 "the reward of my royal dignity, after the subjugation of all
my foes, consists (now already) in the gain of prosperity and
3 welfare for the laity and the Order", but he thought "It
is true, I have by my extraordinary insight brought my king-
dom although it is small, so far that much in it has pro-
4 spered, but I will now within a short time further it so
greatly that it will surpass the greatness of other kingdoms"
5 With this reflection the Prince granted to all the dignitaries
amongst his followers[2], to each according to his merit, posts

[1] A difficult passage The alteration of pada c in the Col Ed into *tattha mantanam apajja* (W 'he took counsel with) is unnecessary I believe that *katthamattam anāpajja* which some of the MSS have while the writing of others suggests it, gives quite good sense That would be the skr **katthāmatram* (**katthā* boasting from the root *katth*) At most a quite slight alteration might be made — *katthanattam katthana* (skr the same) and suff *tta* (skr *tva*) condition of boasting *Neyuttaka* in d I regard on account of the *e* in the first syllable as a secondary derivative of *niyutta* (skr *niyukta*) and as a substantive at that formed like *rāmanīyaka* loveliness Paṇini's rule 5 1 132 it is true allows this formation only with adjectives in *y* Strophe 2 gives then the content of the boasting from which Parakkamabahu refrains being conscious of the great tasks which still await him He is not satisfied by what he has achieved till now and by a quiet and joyous life in his present realm but he aspires after the sovereignty over whole Ceylon

[2] See above notes to 67 52 and 90 W translates here and also in

and inclined them to himself by gifts of money. From the 6
Samantakūṭa[1] mountain to the port at the sea he divided his
army along the frontier of the kingdom into various camps,
and reflecting that in the first place, in every possible way 7
grain must be stored in mass, he spake thus to his hench-
men: "In the realm that is subject to me there are, apart 8
from many strips of country where the harvest flourishes
mainly by rain water, but few fields which are dependent on 9
rivers with permanent flow or on great reservoirs. Also by 10
many mountains, by thick jungle, and by widespread swamps
my kingdom is much straitened. Truly in such a country 11
not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow
into the ocean without being made useful to man. Except at 12
the mines where there are precious stones, gold and the like,
in all other places the laying out of fields must be taken in
hand. For a life of enjoyment of what one possesses, without 13
having cared for the welfare of the people, in no wise befits
one like myself. And when it is the case of a difficult task, 14
ye also all with untiring energy must not regard it as hard;
without neglecting the command given by me, ye must fully 15
carry out the work as ordered". The highly renowned gave 16
the order to rebuild on the river Jajjarā[2] the great causeway
known as Koṭṭhabaddha which had since long been in ruins,
so that the name alone remained, and which had caused the 17
kings of former times the greatest difficulties. The officials 18
all described in every way the difficulties of the work and its
lack of permanence even if it were carried out. The King 19
Parakkamabāhu[3] repudiated the word: "What is there in the
world that cannot be carried out by people of energy? That 20

70. 189 and 277 "officers that had been brought up with him", but in 67. 52 "his fellow soldiers".

[1] See note to 60. 64.

[2] Now the Deduru-oya. The river rises southwest of Kurunegala, flows at first in a northwesterly and northerly direction, turns west below its junction with the Kimbulvana-oya, flows at no great distance past Nikaveratiya and falls into the sea to the north of Chilav.

[3] Note that from now onwards Parakkamabāhu has the title of King.

even Rāma had a great causeway built by the monkey hosts over the ocean — this tale lives among the people to this day.
21 If my extraordinary power should be the cause of the furthering of the laity and the Order by the union of Laṅkā
22 under one umbrella, then even at the beginning of the enterprise one sees (in anticipation) its fulfilment". By such words
23 the energetic one fired their energy. From the causeway as starting-point to the district called Rattakara[1] the discerning
24 ruler before building the causeway, laid down a large canal, in depth many times the length of a man, very broad and
25 exceedingly solid. As in this district there was a lack of stone masons[2], the far-famed (King) called together in great
26 number coppersmiths, blacksmiths and goldsmiths and made over to them the business of masonry and made them lay down a dam in which the joints of the stones were scarcely
27 to be seen, very firm, quite massive, like to a solid rock[3]

[1] W is thinking of the Ratkerauva (?) in the Atakalan Korale of Sabaragamuva, that is of course geographically quite impossible Codrington (I 70) refers us to Ratkaravva, about 4½ miles N W. of Kurunegala in the Kuda Galboda Korale If this is right, then the small river that flows immediately past Kurunegala and joins the Deduru oya further north would be included in the irrigation system The great reservoir must then be sought not far from the spot where the road from Kurunegala to Dambul crosses the Deduru oya But I believe that the form of the name is Rattakara, and -*akaya* the word -*akha* occuring so frequently at the end of names with the meaning "called so and so' The large map of Ceylon too has not the form Ratkaravva but Ratkara vevı

[2] I believe that my emendation of the MSS *silākoṭṭakānammahā palohakārake* into °*kānam abhāvā loha*° is simpler than that of the Col Ed °*kānam nıvaham loha*°, *bha* is very easily confused with *ha* and *va* with *pa* The familiar *mahā* led to a doubling of the *m*. The sense is now even more pregnant If a number (*nıvaha*) of stone masons had been available, one would not have needed the various smiths for the building of the reservoir and the canal For they are only employed for *silākoṭṭanakamma*

[3] P *piṭṭhipāsāna*, according to PTS P D s v "a flat stone or rock, plateau, ridge'. The idea is the whole causeway looks like a single immense slab of stone, like a monolith

and provided with a complete coating of stucco. As a be- 28
liever he placed on the height of the causeway a bodhi tree,
an image house and a relic shrine[1]. And expert as he was, 29
he so arranged matters that the whole quantity of water was
borne through the canal to the sea. On both sides of the 30
canal he had the great wildernesses cleared and many thou-
sands of day's work[2] fields laid out, and because the land 31
was thickly studded with granaries full of untrussed rice[3] he
caused it to be called by the fitting name of Koṭṭhabaddha.

Hereupon at the place of union of the two rivers Saṅkha- 32
vaḍḍhamānaka and Kumbhīlavāna[4] the Sovereign had the place 33
Sūkaranijjhara dammed up in the aforesaid way and likewise
a canal laid down. He had the water from there carried to 34
the Mahāgallaka tank[5] and after he had dammed up every-
thing there that was decayed and ruined, having first cleared 35
out the drainage canals, he built a weir[6] of larger propor-
tions than before. From this place as far as Sūkaranijjhara 36
he had fields made and collected in this way stocks of grain.
In the middle of the Jajjarā river at the place Dorādattika 37
he built a dam and a large canal and also from there as far 38
as Sūkaranijjhara he had fields made and brought together a

[1] P. *dhātugabbhaṃ*. Here, as already in 60. 56 and below in 79. 14, the word appears with the meaning of the Sinhalese *dāgäba* or *dāgoba*, not as originally for the relic chamber built into the stūpa, but for the stūpa itself (*dhātugabbha* = *thūpa*).

[2] P. *vāha*, a land measure, as much ground as one can cultivate with a "load" of seed corn.

[3] The reading *abaddhavīhi* of the MSS. which has been arbitrarily altered in the Col. Ed. into *akhaṇḍavīhi*, is necessary, in order to explain the second part of the name *Koṭṭhabaddha*.

[4] These are the rivers Hakvaṭunu-oya and Kimbulvana-oya (Codrington I. 70). The former joins the latter from the right about 4 miles above its junction with the Deduru-oya. Cf. above note to v. 16.

[5] As the Mahāgallakavāpi is in all probability the Magalle-veva reservoir in the Magul Otota Korale near Nikaveratiya, the canal must have followed the right bank of the Deduru-oya for a length of about 16 miles. Cf. note to 44. 3.

[6] P. *vāripāta*, lit. "waterfall". Cf. 48. 148 and 79. 66, 67 with the notes.

39 large quantity of corn[1] The Paṇḍavāpi[2] tank which was former-
ly quite small he provided with a solid dam whose height,
length and breadth were enlarged (as compared with former
40 dimensions), and (also) with an immense, high[3] weir and with
overflow canals and gave it the name Parakkamasamudda
41 On the island in the middle of the tank he built on the
summit of a rock a cetiya that showed forth the beauty of
42 the Kelāsa mountain[4] In its centre he built a royal pleasure
house three storeys high and very beautiful, which was a
43 habitation for a fulness of worldly joys The reservoirs Mahā-
galla, Setthivāpi and Chattunnata, Tabbāvāpi, as well as
44 Ambavāsāvāpi, Giribāvāpi, Pāṭala, Maṇḍika, Moravāpi, Sādiya-
45 ggāmavāpi and also Tilagullaka, *Mālavalli and Kāli as well as*
Kittakaṇḍaka, Kaṇṇikaragallivāpi and Buddhagāmakaniṭṭhara,
46 Sūkaraggāmavāpi and Mahakiralavāpi, Giriyāvāpi, Rakkhamāna,
47 Ambāla and Kaṭunnaru, Jallibāva, Uttarāla and Tintiṇigāma,
48 Dhavalaviṭṭhikagāma, Kirāvāpi, Nalannaru, Karaviṭṭhavilatta,
as well as Udumbaragāma, Munaru and Kasālla and Kalala-
49 hallika, Mūlavārikavāpi and Girisigāmuka, Polonnarutala and
50 also Visirātthala[5] — these many tanks and sixteen others in

[1] The statement *majjhe Jajjaranajjāya* is too vague to allow of fixing the position of Dorādattika with certainty I think however, that it must be looked for above the mouth of the Kumbhilavāna nadī If it were below the canal described in vv 32 ff would stand in the way of a diversion from the right bank With a diversion from the left bank however the junction with Sūkaraniṭṭhara would cross the Deduru oya itself

[2] *See note to 60 50*

[3] P *abbhunnata* It is difficult to say what the special meaning of the word is here

[4] By the brilliant white of the coating which reminds one of the summit of the Kailasa wrapped in eternal snow This is a mountain group of over 20000 ft in height belonging to the trans Himalayan system The Tibetans call the mountain Kang rinpotsche and, like the Hindus they hold it sacred *Cf* Sven Hedin *Transhimalaya II 91 ff*, 164 ff, III 170 ff

[5] Mr Codrington had the kindness to send me by letter (19 10 1920) a series of identifications established by him for vv 43 49 1 Mahā galla = Magalleveva (see notes to 44 3 and 68 34) 2 Vāsāvāpi =

which the weirs were destroyed[1] he whose heart was chained to pity[2], had restored in his realm. In the Pañcayojana 51
District where there were great swamp ponds, he took the water from there and conducted it to rivers, laid out fields 52
and collected a large quantity of grain. In the wildernesses there and at very many other places he determined every- 53
where what was to remain as wilderness[3], and assembling all the village chiefs, he entrusted the inhabitants with the cultivation (of the remaining country). The discerning (Prince) 54
thereby brought it about that the new fields yielded a tax which was greater than the old taxes produced in the kingdom, and at the same time brought it to pass that the in- 55
habitants of the country never more knew fear of famine. Versed in administration he thought: in my kingdom wherever 56
it may be, there shall not be even a small courtyard without its roofing of leafage, and had therefore here and there charm- 57

Vasiyava in the Magul Otota Korale (near Nikaveratiya); 3. Giribāvāpi = Giribava in Mi-oyen Egoda Korale (on the left bank of the Kala-oya); 4. Maṇḍika = Mediyava in the Pahala Visideke Korale (north of Maho); 5. Tilagullaka = Talagalle Ela (see note to 58. 43), in the Katuvana Korale (east of Magul Otota K.); 6. Kāli? = Kaliyavaḍana, a large irrigation work in Pitigal Korale (at Chilav); 7. Buddhagāmakanijjhara? = Butgomu-oya, Yatikaha Korale (20 miles west of Kurunegala); 8. Sūkaraggāmavāpi? = Urapotta, Kiniyama Korale (left bank of the lower Deduru-oya); 9. Mahākirālavāpi = Mahagirilla, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (north of the Magul Otota K.); 10. Giriyāvāpi = Galgiriyāva, Nikavagampahe Korale (north-east of Maho); 11. Ambāla = Ambale, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (see under 9); 12. Tintiṇigāmaka = Siyambalangomuva, Hatalispaha Korale (between Nikavagampahe K. and Mi-oyen Egoda K., a large now abandoned tank north-east of Galgamuva); 13. Kirāvāpi = Kiraveva, Yagam Pattu Korale (10 miles E. of Chilav); 14. Karaviṭṭhavilatta = Karavita and Vilattava, Pitigal Korale North (at Chilav), and Yagam Pattu Korale (see under 13). — For *Moravāpi* see notes to 69. 9, 70. 67.

[1] I think we must read *naṭṭhanijjharavāpiyo* instead of *naṭṭhā nijjh°*.

[2] Pun on *dayābaddhamano* and *bandhāpesi*.

[3] Lit.: "determining the wilderness places"; *vavatthā* is a gerund and stands for *-tthāya* with a causative meaning. Thus he separated the cultivable land from that which was incapable of cultivation.

58 ing parks laid out, filled full with numerous species of creepers and trees which bore fruits and which bore blossoms, and which offered many delights[1] and which were beautified by all kinds of garden beds[2].

59 Aware of the right method, the Prince so acted that in consequence of his extraordinary insight his own kingdom though small, (now) brought to such prosperity, surpassed another, even a great kingdom.

Here ends the sixty-eighth chapter, called "The Improvement of his own Kingdom", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] P. *aneka anubhava ādhāre* "the foundations of many delights". For the meaning of *anubhava* cf. those of the kindred verb *anu-bhū*.

[2] P. *nānānuyyānasundare*, which I split up into *nānā anuyyāna s°*, *anuyyāna* corresponds to *uyyāna* as *anudhamma* to *dhamma* and is used of the smaller secondary garden-like beds in the *ārāmā*.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE COLLECTION OF MILITARY FORCES AND MONEY

When Parakkamabāhu had thus set his whole kingdom in 1
order in the best possible way, he pondered over what was
now to be done: "Former foolish kings to whom good direc- 2
tion of affairs of state was unknown, for long injured at
their pleasure people and Order. The ascetics made the 3
Order abandon the teaching and discipline of the Master;
they neglected religious duties and lived according to their
own pleasure. If now I soon unite Laṅkā under one umbrella, 4
I shall perchance be able to raise up again Order and people."
After these reflections he gave orders to officers and district 5
chiefs to put troops and war material in readiness. First of 6
all the Prince summoned to him the official with the title
of King of Malaya who was leader of the Damiḷa army in
the district called Rattakara[1], and after he had placed in 7
readiness many thousands of men, as well as armaments and
weapons, he sent him away to take up his abode there. From 8
the Tabbā district, from the Giribā district, from Moravāpi,
from the Mahīpāla district, and from the Pilaviṭṭhika district;
from the Buddhagāma district and from the district called 9
Ambavana, from the Bodhigāmavara district and from the 10
Kaṇṭakapeṭaka[2] district he summoned the officials of the

[1] See note to 68. 23.

[2] Of the names mentioned here the following are already known: 1) Tabbā in Tabbāvāpi 68. 43; 2) Giribā in Giribāvāpi, cf. note to 68. 49, nr. 3; 3) Moravāpi 68. 44; 4) Buddhagāma, cf. note to 58. 43; 5) Ambavana, cf. note to 66. 85; 6) Bodhigāmavara, cf. note to 66. 78. It is clear that here we have the enumeration of the frontier districts of Dakkhiṇadesa towards Rājaraṭṭha from N.W. to S.E.

frontier guard singly, placed at their disposal many thousands
11 of men, strong mails and divers weapons, such as swords,
javelins, lances and the like and sent each of them to his
12 place to dwell there At that time Lankāmahālāna, Sikhānā-
13 yaka, Jayamahālāna, Seṭṭhināyaka and Mahinda by name —
these five highly respected men belonging to the Lambakaṇṇas[1]
14 dwelt in the Moriya[2] district He made each one of them
supply a thousand warriors and ordered them to get ready
15 the (necessary) war equipment In the interior of the country
the King set up twelve district chiefs and allotted to each
16 of them two thousand men Further he appointed eighty four
officers, men tested by victory, and entrusted to each of them
17 a force of a thousand men He also raised several thousand
soldiers armed with clubs, tall men and strong, and the (need-
18 ful) war appliances Of the foreign soldiers, such as the
Keralas and others, who were in his service, he raised several
19 thousand Of one thousand he made moonlight archers, versed
in night-fighting, and gave them leathern doublets and the like
20 Many thousand Vyādhas[3] too he brought together, (men) who
understood their task and gave them what was fitting for
21 them spears, drums[4] and the like Of the many work people

The Tabbā district accordingly lies in the extreme northwest on the left bank of the lower Kala oya probably in Rajavanni Pattuva I find a Mahatabbova marked on the 12 sheet map Moravāpi, Mahīpala and Pilaviṭṭhika must be looked for in this order between Giriba and Me nikdena It is clear from 72 163 170 that Pilaviṭṭhi or Pillaviṭṭhi (the two are certainly identical) lay not far from Kālavāpi *Possibly* Kaṇṭakapeṭaka lay east or northeast of Matale

[1] Cf note to 39 44

[2] Moriya *is otherwise* (38 13, 41 69) a clan name

[3] That *vyādha* here is a rendering of the Sinh *vädda* seems to me certain, though this does not prove that the etymological derivation of the latter from the former is correct

[4] W separates *sattikālambara* into *satti kāla ambara* and translates "swords black clothes That is certainly wrong We must separate into *sattikā-ālambara* *Sattikā* is the deminutive of *satti* "spear" = skr *sakti* One might also derive it from *satti* 'knife = skr *śastrī* but I consider that less likely *Ālambara* is the skr *āḍambara* drum

the King then ordered each thousand to perform the work appropriate to them[1]. With the wish that people skilled in 22
the art of riding elephants or horses and of handling the sword, in the use of foreign tongues, in dance and song, in court service should increase in number, the Sovereign brought 23
up many of the sons, brothers and grandchildren of distinguished families in his own palace. Of the many groups such 24
as the Churikaggāhaka, the Kappūravaḍḍhaka, the Khuddasevaka, the Sīhalagandhabba, the Santikāvacara and so on[2] he 25
supported several thousand of each of them at the royal court. To the young people among the chamberlains, bar- 26
bers and the like he gave weapons and commanded them always to acknowledge the eldest among them as their leaders. Having established through the people who had been the 27
treasurers of his father the King, the state of the finances, he came to the decision, that with such means it would be 28
impossible to establish a universal dominion in Laṅkā, and collected without oppressing the people (further) money in the following way: The monarch separated finance admini- 29
stration and the army from each other and made them over to two officials who were the chief officials[3]. The whole 30
realm ruled by him the King divided equally (into two halves) and appointed a couple of auditors who came in regular ad-

[1] Parakkama thus supplies the demand for workers for the army by recruiting from the castes.

[2] It is not possible to determine what various groups (*vaggabhedā*), castes or guilds are meant. Taken in order the names singly denote: 1) knife bearers, dagger bearers, 2) camphor producers (cf. *cīvaravaḍḍhaka* "makers of clothing"), 3) little servants, 4) Sīhala musicians, 5) comrades of the immediate entourage.

[3] Parakkama must thus have created two chief ministries, a ministry of War and one for the internal administration, each with a highest official at the head. For simplification the latter was locally divided into two parts (v. 30) to which a third was added which embraced in particular the administration of the mines (? *sāraṭṭhāna*, v. 32). It is clear that the compiler is here describing the system of administration set up in certain works of the Nīti literature. It is of course possible that Parakkama himself adopted this system.

31 vancement[1] (to the office). From the district on the sea coast[2], from the district Ratanākara[3], from the great Malaya country
32 and from other districts the Ruler separated all land of extraordinary value and placed it under an official for whom
33 he created the so-called "Office of the Interior"[4]. By ship he sent off many precious stones, traded with these and so increased
34 the money resources. In charge of the two chief officials he caused to supply war material and troops of many thousand
35 men, and in that of the three (other) officials also, him of the office of the Interior and the two heads of provinces, he
36 raised very many troops. To test the military fitness of the soldiers[5] he arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most
37 skilled and granted them high distinction. Those unfitted for fight he dismissed out of pity: they were to till the fields and perform other work and live in peace.

38 Thus versed in right method, he placed in readiness mails and weapons and skilled troops and without oppressing the people, he collected with ease large resources in money.

Here ends the sixty-ninth chapter, called "The Collection of military Forces and Money", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] P. *kamāgate*. I believe that what is meant is that these officials, in order to have the necessary expert knowledge, had to work their way up through the various grades of service

[2] Here it is probably a case of the strips of coast where pearl fishing was carried on

[3] I have no doubt that the district meant is that in which the present Ratnapura lies (cf. W., note to the passage), and which was ever and again the "mine of precious stones" (*ratanākara*)

[4] P. *antarangadhura*. See skr. *antaranga*

[5] By *bhaṭa* are meant all people of an age to bear arms

CHAPTER LXX

THE SURRENDER OF THE ROYAL DIGNITY

Hereupon, after Parakkamabāhu had surveyed his great 1
army and the abundant stocks in money and corn and his
whole war material, he thought: quite apart from the island 2
of Sīhala it would not be difficult to conquer even Jambudīpa,
and he set about getting the royal dominion into his power.
Into the great Malaya country[1] which was difficult to pene- 3
trate owing to the inaccessibility of the many mountains and
on account of the danger from wild animals, shut off from
intercourse with other men, passable only on footpaths, offer- 4
ing all kinds of perils and dangerous by reason of deep
waters with man-eating crocodiles, in Yaṭṭhikaṇḍa and Dum- 5
bara[2], he summoned Rakkha the daṇḍādhināyaka[3] of King 6
Gajabāhu, and graciously showed him great distinction. He then
gave him the order to take possession of the Malaya country
and make it over to him. When the inhabitants heard of the 7
affair, they agreed that they would kill the general when he
came to them. At these tidings the general came hither in 8
haste, fought, scattered the enemy in flight and occupied the
district of Dumbara. Thereupon he continued the fight in 9

[1] Parakkamabāhu goes to work with great deliberation. Before undertaking the attack on Rājaraṭṭha, he secures his right flank by occupying the mountain country of Malaya. This is called, as in 69. 31, *Mahāmalayadesa*.

[2] Probably the province of Dumbara (Pata D. and Uda D.) which stretches N.E. of Kandy, though possibly its scope was more restricted in ancient times than now. See below note to v. 14.

[3] The title occurs in different forms; also *daṇḍanātha* (so v. 7, 8), *daṇḍanāyaka* (70. 279 etc.). It seems to be of a military character; *daṇḍa* is probably to be understood as "army".

Yaṭṭhikaṇḍa and seized the head of the chief there, after he
10 had beaten the foe. At the village of Tālakkhetta he twice
offered battle and he likewise fought two combats at Nāga-
11 pabbata[1]. Also at the village Suvaṇṇadoṇi[2] by name, at
Rāmucchuvallika and at Demaṭṭhapādatthali he delivered at
12 each in turn an action, and after all the enemy inhabiting
the different places were subjugated he took possession of the
13 Yatthikaṇḍa district with strong forces. After leaving there his
younger brother behind with the army, he betook himself to
14 the King to consider what was to be done. The soldiers at
the head of whom was his brother, now marched forth and
after a fight with the enemy, seized the district called Nī-
15 lagallaka[3]. The general returned and after he had successi-
vely delivered battle at Sayakhettaka, at Rattabeduma and at
16 Dhanuvillika[4] and had slain the foe, he made the conquered
17 district Nilagallaka into a safe possession. Hereupon he twice
offered action against the powerful Otturāmallaka the chief
18 of Dhanumaṇḍala, and after conquering the Nisseṇikkhettaka
district and clearing it of the briers (of the foe), he brought
19 Otturāmallaka and his people into his power Thereupon the
King summoned the general Rakkha to him and conferred
on him the dignity of a Kesadhātu[5] and great distinction.

[1] The place mentioned here has nothing to do with the Nakapawata vihāra mentioned in the Tammanakanda inscription (E. Müller AIC., No 55)

[2] Corresponds probably to a modern Randeniya The Census of 1921 mentions five localities of this name, but the position of none of them fits our Suvaṇṇadoṇi

[3] A Nilgala lies in Udasiya Pattu North in Dumbara (thus Codrington), that is in the mountains north of Teldeniya If the indentification is right, then the engagements described in vv 8 ff must have taken place in a comparatively restricted area in the region N E. of Kandy. The names in vv. 8 and 9 do not occur again Rāmucchuvallika (v. 11) might be meant for Rambukwela in Gampaha Korale West, 7 miles east of Teldeniya (cf W note to passage)

[4] A Dunuvila lies about five miles S E of Teldeniya, only just over two miles south of the spot where the last king of Ceylon was captured Thus also Codrington

[5] Cf the note to 57 65 The Order of the Kesadhātu was not founded for the first time now, as one might assume from the note in W's translation It existed already at the time of Vijayabāhu I

The King sent him forth to take the district of Majjhima- 20
vagga[1]. He betook himself to Nīlagiri[2] and after he had
armed his troops there, the mighty one fought in the pro- 21
vince Vāpivāṭaka by name and in Majjhimavagga and won
the victory. When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these 22
events, he sent out a great army to fight him. At news of 23
this the Kesadhātu, who had with him a correspondingly
strong army and train, scattered the enemy forces and oc-
cupied Majjhimavagga. Lokajitvāṇa by name and the Laṅ- 24
kādhināyaka Rakkha[3], the lion-hearted ones, armed a division,
marched forth and fought the Laṅkānātha Hukitti; they de- 25
feated him and brought the district called Rerupallika into
their power. In Kosavagga the King brought Samantamalla 26
by name by amicable means under his influence and showed
him great honour; he then sent him war material and a big 27
army and charged him to seize Kosavagga. Samantamallaka 28
by name, Otturāmallaka and his people fought with the
hostile army and slew many in the battle. After they had 29
fought a great battle at the place called Sīsacchinnakabodhi,
the mighty ones got hold of the Kosavagga district[4].

When he had thus made peaceful the province of Malaya 30
where owing to its inhabitants there had been no peace, he
dwelt at ease in his town and passed the time with games 31

[1] Contrary to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. reads *rājaraṭṭhaṃ* instead of *rājā raṭṭhaṃ*. Accordingly W. translates "sent him to the king's country to take the district of Majjhima-vaggaka". That is wrong. The scene is not yet Rājaraṭṭha but Malaya. Majjhimavagga is identified by Codrington with Medivaka in Gampaha Korale, Dumbara.

[2] Nīlagiri is probably identical with the Nīlagallaka mentioned above. It is now the base for further operations.

[3] *Laṅkādhināyaka* (variants *laṅkānātha*, ex. 70. 25, or *laṅkādhinātha*, ex. 70. 232) is again a title which occurs frequently in just this pariccheda. The Laṅkādhināyaka Rakkha is of course different from the Daṇḍādhināyaka ("general") Rakkha, now Kesadhātu Rakkha. The two are mentioned together 70. 282, 283. Cf. also note to 70. 278.

[4] We must very likely assume that the military engagements described from v. 20 onwards, took place north of the Dumbara district, so that Parakkama's troops worked their way gradually to the frontier of Rājaraṭṭha.

in the garden and in the water, with dance and song and
32 the like, fulfilling the duties of a king, and for the sake of
the exertions[1] for the subjugation of hostile kings and for
defeat of rebels, the Ruler was wont to follow the chase.
33 Now one day the King together with the chief Mahesī, with
34 ministers and retainers went hunting. When then the Sovereign beheld a big forest that had signs of being inhabited
by game, he made the Mahesī take her stand on the one
35 side and then had the whole forest surrounded by hunters
with spears in their hands and nets and caused them to make
36 a noise here and there. Now when an elk bull[2] large as an
elephant calf, heard the frightful noise, he broke out of the
37 forest thicket. Glancing in all sides, he roused by fear came
running thence, plunging down the mountain slopes, leaping
38 mountain gorges, cracking the tree branches, dragging creepers after it like a net, trampling down the brushwood in
39 the forest, tearing asunder the outspread net, killing everyone
he met or putting them to flight — thus he dashed straight
at the Mahesī with the fury and the swiftness of the storm.
40 Everybody who beheld him rushing onwards fled on all sides,
overcome by fright, and left the Mahesī and the King in the
41 lurch. When the King beheld the fearful stag approaching he
ran towards him with terrible courage and hit him with hurled
42 spear. Wounded by him, the stag lowered its head[3] to slay
the King, but shedding both its antlers, flung itself at his
43 feet. The ministers, the hunters, the chamberlains, the barbers and the others hearing the cry that the animal gave
44 forth after receiving its severe wound[4], turning back, came

[1] In order to be capable of those exertions. I do not think that *uyyāmattham* is in a parallel position to the two *nisedhattham* as W. assumes, but that these latter are dependent on the former.

[2] P. *gokaṇṇamigo*, Sinh. *gōnā*, Rusa Aristotelis, the Sambar, living in India and Ceylon.

[3] Lit.: When by him (the stag), that had received the (spear) wound the head was lowered to kill him (the King), he fell . . ."

[4] The MSS. have *laddhā pahāraṃ karaṇaṃ*. I have changed only the last word into *karuṇaṃ* "plaintive, pitiful". The gerund is subject to the part. *ravato*. The Col. Ed. has *laddhā pahārakaraṇā*, which gives neither clear construction nor clear sense.

together from all sides. When they beheld the two antlers
and the lion-hearted Ruler they were full of astonishment 45
and overjoyed and happy, they filled the whole forest with
the clamour of their loud praises. Ever and anon praising 46
the extraordinary bravery of the King, his great good for-
tune, his heroism and his manly courage, they took the 47
antlers and surrounding the King, entered the town which
was adorned like the city of the gods, told the great digni- 48
taries of the astonishing events and showed all of them the
two antlers. When the high officials heard of the miracle, they 49
came together and spake with one another with astonishment
about the extraordinary occurrence: "Were this man with his 50
majesty born in Jambudīpa, he would become without doubt
a world-ruling king". With these and words of like praise 51
they lauded his inflexible courage hard to surpass, and placed 52
the two antlers, having had an inscription put on them, in
the treasure house where they are to this day.

When hereupon the Lord of men (Parakkamabāhu) heard 53
that the Ruler Gajabāhu had fetched nobles of heretical faith
from abroad and had thus filled Rājaraṭṭha with the briers 54
(of heresy), wrath seized his soul and he thought: though people
of my kind are there, possessing insight, virtue, miraculous power 55
and extraordinary courage, he has nevertheless acted thus — and
he commanded his generals to take possession also of Rājaraṭṭha[1].
With careful consideration of the works profitable for the 56
carrying on of war, such as the text book of Koṭalla[2], the
Yuddhaṇṇava[3] and others he, versed in the procedure of war, 57
worked out with ingenuity in a way according with the
locality and the time, the plan of campaign[4], wrote it down,
had it handed out to the officers and gave the order: "Doubt 58
not that ye do a thing of great moment, if ye do but swerve

[1] In the same way as they had already conquered Malaya.

[2] For Koṭalla = skr. Kauṭalya see note to 64. 3.

[3] I do not know a work with this title. Chapters 123—125 of the Agnipurāṇa are however called *Yuddhajayārṇava*. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 219.

[4] P. *yuddhopāyaṃ*. For *upāya* cf. note to 58. 3.

59 by a hair's breadth from this my instruction". They all received the words of the King with bowed head and went forth with large forces to open the campaign.

60 The Lord of men Gajabāhu had as chief of the umbrella bearers Komba, equipped with an army and experienced in
61 war. The latter had built a very strong fortress at the village of Mallavālāna[1] for defence against the foe and had long
62 had his dwelling there. The Malayarāyara who held the stronghold Vālikākhetta[2], fought with him, put him to flight
63 and took his fortress. Then the hero marched thence at the head of a strong force and came by ship on the water to
64 Muttākara[3]. The mighty one fought a great battle in the middle of the sea against the general there, in which the
65 enemy troops were scattered. He then fought even a second bitter action at the selfsame spot and sent many thousands
66 (of the foe) to (the god of death) Yama. The forces also of the Chief of the Kesadhātus, called Tamba, and other troops
67 destroyed the foe at (the place) Mūlavalliya by name, and the officer in Moravāpi, Nilagallaka by name, came to Kaṭiyāgāma and slew great numbers of the enemy[4].

68 In the village of Kālavāpi Gajabāhu had the general known
69 by the name of Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa[5] stationed. He was

[1] The operations begin on the extreme left wing of Parakkamabāhu who evidently intends to cut off Rājaraṭṭha from the sea Mallavālāna should therefore be looked for not far from the coast, somewhere about the mouth of the Kala oya

[2] Malayarāyara is a variant of Malayarāja (cf note to 41 85) **Vālikākhetta** is identified by Codrington (I 71) with "Vellavela in Anaivilundan Pattuva near Battulu Oya" There is no Vellavela in the list of places in the Census of 1921.

[3] "Pearl mine" What is meant are probably the pearl banks stretching from the south of Mannar to near Portugal Bay

[4] These fights take place, since Kālavāpi is mentioned in the sequel west of this lake, about the Mi Oyen Egoda Korale But the Mora gasvewa situated here can scarcely be identified with the Moravāpi named in v 67. Moravāpi is also mentioned in 69 8 and 70 67, 72 177 (see the note)

[5] For **Gokaṇṇa** see above note to 66 35

gifted with high heroic virtues, in possession of a fitting
army and train, skilled in war, a loyal and devoted adviser
of his Lord. The general Rakkhadīvāna of the Lord of men 70
Parakkama vanquished him in battle at the place Goṇagāmuka.
The officer Gokaṇṇa grown lax through his defeat, after equipping 71
an army again suffered defeats at the fortress of Pilaviṭṭhika
and at the fortress called Kasāllaka, at Taṭavāpika, at Jambukola, 72
at Vajiravāpi, at Nandivāpi, at Pallikāvāpi and at Kalalahallika, 73
after he had on each occasion offered battle[1]. Then he thought:
"My army that was formerly victorious even in battle with 74
the King[2], has now when it is double as strong, fighting
with two or three officers of Parakkamabāhu at the border 75
of the kingdom, each time suffered defeat, and the leaders
of the troops have fallen: now it is no longer capable of 76
fighting", and he sent a report of all that had happened to
Gajabāhu. When the Ruler Gajabāhu heard all this, he took 77
counsel with his ministers and spake as follows: "Never for- 78
merly have we heard that we were defeated; now we have
suffered a defeat and that was a great injury for us. Even 79
he who among my dignitaries was of special power and
courage, has been vanquished several times in battle. Were 80
another misfortune to overtake him that would not be good
for me". Having thus taken counsel with his ministers, he
made ready abundant money, troops and troop leaders, as 81
also divers weapons and impenetrable armour and sent these
off to Gokaṇṇa. The general Gokaṇṇa now made the army 82
sent by the king, his own former army as well as the army
of the inhabitants of the country[3] in all haste ready for 83

[1] The localities named in 70 to 73 must all be situated southwest or south of the Kalaveva, Goṇagāmuka probably farthest away (? Gonagama in the Gantihe Korale south of Galgamuva). For Pilaviṭṭhika see note to 69. 10). Jambukola is probably Dambul, though Codrington inclines to identify it with Dambagolla in Gangala Palesiya Pattuva, west of Elahera. The names Kasālla and Kalalahallika are met with also in 68. 48 amongst the tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa.

[2] Cf. the defeat of Kittisirimegha by Gokaṇṇa in 63. 34.

[3] The militia in contrast to the regular, standing army.

battle, advanced again to Nilagala[1] and fought a great battle
84 with the general Māyāgeha In this action many of his
people fell or flung away their weapons and fled into the
85 wilderness It went so far that one was forced to say that
nobody had escaped[2] He himself also left chariot and um-
86 brella in the lurch and fled into the forest From now he
gave up the idea of fighting and stayed in Kālavāpi after
building a strong fortification there

87 Thereupon the officers stationed in the Sūraambavana[3]
district pressed forward to Janapada and cut down the ho-
88 stile army The troop leaders who had been sent to the pro-
vince of Bodhigāmavara entered Lankāgiri[4] and destroyed
the foe there

89 The troop leaders at the head of whom stood the Na-
garagiri Mahinda, were sent again by Parakkama to the
90 district of Mallavālāna to fight[5] He marched thither, drove
back the mighty enemy, penetrated the province, conquered

[1] This is very probably the Nilagallaka mentioned earlier (70 14 with note) or Nilagiri (70 20) in Dumbara. Thus Gokaṇṇa successful perhaps at the outset had penetrated far to the south into the districts of Malaya which Parakkama s soldiers had already occupied (hence *puna*!) before he suffered his decisive defeat.

[2] Lit. there were none of such (*n'atthi*) who had gone after they had freed themselves *Muccitvāna gatā* is a periphrastic formation akin to analogous Sinhalese expressions Cf Sinh *palā yanavā* prt. *palāgiyā*

[3] Sūraambavana is manifestly a part of Ambavana name of the region of the Ambanganga (see above note to 66 85) Parakkama s officers thus press forward pursuing the beaten enemy northwards through Ambavana Korale to Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattuva (= Janapada note to 66 110)

[4] For Bodhigāmavara see note to 66 78 for Laṅkāgiri now Laggala east of Vagapanaha note to 66. 80 Codrington I 71

[5] According to 70 60 ff Mallavāḷuna had already been taken earlier by the Malayarayara. There must have been a reverse in the interval in which the territory gained was again lost. As to this failure the chronicle is silent Now after the victorious advance of the right wing the operations on the extreme left wing are begun again in the former way (see note to 70 61)

it and brought it into safe possession. From there they all 91
started off, gave battle at sea with many hundreds of ships
and after seizing the general stationed there and (the Nor- 92
thern Province) Uttararaṭṭha[1], they sent the pearls found
there to their Lord. Thereupon the Monarch had a fortress 93
built at the place called Pilavasu and made the troops take
up their abode there.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these events, 94
he took counsel with his ministers and set about sending out
troops. When Parakkamabāhu who well understood the (right) 95
method, learned thereof, he sent the Laṅkānātha (Rakkha)[2]
to the district called Janapada. At the tidings of this action 96
the Lord of men Gajabāhu gathered his army together,
divided his forces and sent in two directions an army equipp- 97
ed with armour and weapons — to the locality Janapada and
to the fortress called Pilavasu. The Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha 98
advanced thereupon at the head of a strong force for the
destruction of the hostile army, to Ambavana[3] and after cut- 99
ting up in battle many foes at the village called Bubbula[4],
he put the army of the enemy to flight. The inhabitants of 100
the country now made the roads difficult of access by hewn

[1] The MSS. are without doubt corrupt. But I cannot accept the reading of the Col. Ed. *tatraṭṭhaṃ daṇḍanāthaṃ taṃ muttā raṭṭhaṃ balam pi ca.* It is too violent and arbitrary. I would far rather read with slight alteration, *tatraṭṭhaṃ daṇḍanāthaṃ ca* (*— thañca,* which differs slightly from the *-thaba-* of the MSS.) *raṭṭhaṃ taṃ Uttaraṃ pi ca.* Parakkama wants above all to get hold of Uttararaṭṭha, the province north of Anurādhapura, in order to cut off Rājaraṭṭha completely. Still better perhaps would be the emendation *raṭṭhaṃ Muttākaraṃ pi ca* especially in consideration of 70. 63. The translation would then run: "and after they had seized the general stationed there and the province of Muttākara".

[2] See 70. 24 with the note.

[3] As according to 70. 87 Ambavana lies further south than Janapada, it must be assumed that Parakkama's troops who had already advanced to Janapada, had at first retired southwards, till Rakkha restored the balance.

[4] Evidently Bibila in Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattuva, Matale North (Census of C. 1921, II, p. 102; H. W. Codrington I. 71).

101 down and felled trees and by thorny creepers and posted in
ambush on the road, continued the fight. The Lankānātha
102 *determined to* annihilate the foe, pursued them in every
direction, broke even through the stockades and pushed forward
delivering *big engagements* at divers places, to Janapada
103 After taking Janapada he following instructions of Parakkamabāhu,
built an entrenchment *and took* up his *abode there*
104 Thereupon King Gajabāhu sent the Lankādhināyaka Deva and
105 Dāṭhābhāra by name to withstand him The Lankādhinātha
(Rakkha) thereupon delivered a great battle, defeated them
106 and took Yagālla The Lord of men Gajabāhu sent to the
Ālisāra[1] district the so-called four companies[2] to renew the
107 combat The Lankānātha (Rakkha) likewise marched forth,
fought with them, captured several alive and occupied Ta-
108 lātthala[3]. King Gajabāhu sought now by a kindly gift to
bring him under his influence and sent him abundant pre-
109 sents, such as costly ornaments of jewels and divers garments
110 *of* linen, silk and other stuffs as an offering The general
accepted the gifts, mutilated the envoys and sent presents
111 and messengers to his Lord When the King (Parakkama)
saw that, he rejoiced greatly and sent him back the whole
112 treasure and costly gifts (in addition) The *general now left*
the fortress of Talātthala and took up a position in the
113 stronghold of Āligāma[4] at the side of the *river* Thereupon
Gajabāhu sent the general Sika and other skilful warriors
114 with *great forces to fight once* more with him *They all set
forth* equipped with troops and train, *surrounded the fortress*

1 The name is preserved in the modern Elahera on the left bank of the Ambanganga in Gangala Pallesiya Pattuva (Census of C 1921, *II* 102)

2 *P catasso parisā* evidently the name of a *particular troop* which perhaps had its headquarters in the Ālisāra district or was recruited from the able bodied inhabitants of this district.

3 Now Talagoda (Codrington), somewhat above Elahera and also situated on the left bank of the Ambanganga.

4 *H W. Codrington compares* this with the modern Elagamuva which lies slightly above Talagoda but on the right bank of the Ambanganga The Census of 1921 names both villages together in Gangala Pallesiya Pattuva.

(Āḷigāma) and rained down a hail of arrows. Several warriors 115
of the Laṅkādhinātha well armed, took up their position at
the gate and began a terrific fight. The archers and other 116
combatants standing on the turrets of the gate, slew numbers
of the foe with arrows, spears and javelins. In this way they 117
all carried on without interruption for three days a violent
combat with great endurance and great strength. The troops 118
of King Gajabāhu determined above everything on the de-
struction of the foe, set about blowing up the main gates of
the fortress. Thereupon the Laṅkādhinātha and his warriors 119
burst forth and cut down the enemy in combat as far as
the opposite bank of the river[1]. They made the water of 120
the river muddy with the blood of the foe and captured
many troop leaders alive. After gaining the victory in the 121
battle, the Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha celebrated a great festival
of victory in the castle, but the heads of the hostile officers, 122
the umbrellas, chariots and weapons and the captives caught
alive he sent to his Lord.

Hereupon the Sovereign (Parakkamabāhu) summoned to 123
him the Senāpati Deva, told him all that the Laṅkādhinātha
Rakkha had accomplished, and with the reflection that Ga- 124
jabāhu at the tidings of the defeat of his troops, would cer-
tainly send forth a great force to seize the general (Rakkha),
he sent the far-famed army leader to the Giribā district[2] to 125
cut off the great force of the Lord of men Gajabāhu. The 126
shrewd (Deva) set out, having put his whole army into
fighting trim and while occupying an entrenchment which
he had raised on the bank of the Kālavāpi river[3], he at the 127

[1] The Ambanganga flows at Elagamuva from S.W. to N.E. It must be assumed that Rakkha had abandoned Taḷātthalī and that the enemy are advancing by Taḷātthalī = Talagoda to their new position at Elagamuva. To do this they must cross the river and are now driven back over it. Cf. below vv. 173 ff.

[2] Cf. note to 68. 49 (nr. 3) and 69. 8. Thus the expected pressure on the right wing is to be relieved by an attack on the left flank.

[3] This is the Kala-oya, since the Kālavāpi tank is formed by the damming up of this river.

instruction of the King, threw a long, very fine, and very solid bridge across the river of the Kālavāpi tank, passable
128 by files of elephants, horses and chariots[1], held together with iron bands and nails, made of beams of timber and twenty
129 cubits[2] broad After leaving certain officers there, the Senāpati marched off and while delivering here and there heavy
130 engagements in which he remained victorious, he reached a place named Angamu[3], built an entrenchment for fighting
131 with the hostile army, and took up a position there At the tidings thereof the opposing army erected an impregnable fortification at Senāgāma to ward off the Senāpati and took up
132 a position there The illustrious Senāpati now marched thither, fought with the hostile army and captured the fortification
133 in Senāgāma After the enemy had fought twice over and suffered defeat, they built a fortification in Manyāgāma and
134 took up a position there Thereupon the Senāpati marched thither and took the fortress of Manyā, likewise a stronghold
135 in Mita and the fortress Sūkaragāma He had new earthworks laid down in all these fortifications and leaving none
136 of them unoccupied, he placed commanders (in them) The Senāpati having built a stronghold at Tengāma, made officers known as capable warriors take up their position there
137 with troops King Gajabāhu now sent his officer, the Nilagiri

[1] The Col Ed has *hatthassarathapattihi* and W translates therefore by elephants and horses and chariots and *footmen* *According to my* MSS I have felt obliged to read *pantihi*

[2] *The MSS have in pada b c dāruhi āyatam visa thatthaatthatam* Thus three syllables are missing I have added a *kāritam* to *dāruhi* for *kāresi* seemed to me too far away to be joined with the instr The Col. Ed. puts *āyatam* in pada b and gives as length *drisatam* in c. Here again one would have to supplement a *ha tha from the following* compound. Twenty cubits are nearly = *30 feet.*

[3] The name is preserved in that of the Ambagomuva tank which lies a little over $2^1/_2$ miles to the north of the Kala-oya The distance of Giriba from the southern bank is the same The river is particularly narrow at the part between the two places and therefore probably easy to cross.

Rāma[1] and numerous troop leaders[2] to destroy him. They 138
set forth all well armed with army and train and occupied
an armed camp not far from Terigāma. From early morning 139
the two armies began the battle with vehemence and con-
tinued it until evening. Now when the Nīlagiri and his 140
warriors, who were acknowledged to be brave, saw their troops
yielding, they armed with their weapons, striking down the best 141
soldiers, spreading panic amongst the foe, flung themselves
into the midst of the army like lions amid a herd of elephants.
But the warriors of the Senāpati (Deva) did not flinch in fight, 142
but surrounding the Nīlagiri Rāma and the many troop leaders
on all sides, they slew them on the battlefield and captured 143
the chief warrior Kaḍakkuḍa and other fighters alive. The 144
Senāpati who had gained the victory in this battle, sent those
captured alive to his Lord.

Parakkamabāhu who was staying[3] quietly in the neigh- 145
bourhood of the scene of heroic deeds now summoned in his
shrewd way, the Nagaragiri Mahinda who was in his vicinity 146
and told him of the extraordinary courage of those digni-
taries[4]. When the latter heard that, his ambition awoke 147
within him and with the words: I will set forth and take it,
he pledged himself to take Anurādhapura shortly. With strong 148
forces the foe-crusher set forth and delivered a great battle

149 at the place called Badaribhātikamāna Then when the il-
lustrious one had fought a great action at the village of the
150 name of Siyāmahantakuddāla and near the Tissavāpi reservoir
not far from Anurādhapura, he surrounded by the multitude
151 of his troops, entered Anurādhapura[1] When the Lord of
men Gajabāhu heard of these events, he sent off several troop
152 leaders accompanied by the highest dignitaries They all armed
for combat, raised a barricade round the town and cut off
153 access to the road Now when the Senāpati Deva heard of
these events, in order to relieve the general besieged in the
154 town, he set off in haste, delivered battle again at the village
of Siyāmahantakuddāla and fought on the way three terrible
155 battles The Malayarāyara at the tidings thereof left his
stronghold[2] and came hither after twice fighting a battle on
156 the way At the instruction of the Senāpati, he marched in
the same direction[3] and fought with the hostile army not far
157 from Anurādhapura The Senāpati also fought here and there
a sharp action, pressed forward to the vicinity of Anurādha-
158 pura and opened the combat here At news of this the general
Mahinda with strong forces suddenly made a sortie out of
159 glorious Anurādhapura and overthrowing the foe and storming
many barricades on the way, he quickly reached the Senāpati
160 United the army of the Senāpati and the army of Mahinda
fought with the hostile army and once more put it to flight
161 The Senāpati returned to Siyāmahantakuddāla, set up a strong,
entrenched camp and took up a position here[4]

[1] Anurādhapura was probably also the objective of Deva's advance from the S W As Parakkamabāhu's headquarters must have been nearer to the centre of the whole theatre of operations it may be assumed that Mahinda was advancing on the town from the south more or less on the line Galgamuva Talava

[2] He was stationed according to 70 62—65 in the north west, in Muttākara, at the extreme left wing

[3] P *ekamukhena* (for the meaning of *mukha* in such a connection see 70 217) i e with the same goal as the Senāpati

[4] For judging the military situation it is of importance that though Gajabāhu has won back Anurādhapura the threat to this town and therefore to his right flank from the Senāpati Deva continues

Parakkamabāhu now summoned the chief Māyāgeha to 162
him and ordered him to carry on the war in Āḷisāra. Full 163
of joy the latter marched, accompanied by skilled warriors,
built a fortification in Kalalahallika and took up a position
there. At the stronghold of Nandāmūlakagāma he fought 164
three actions and brought this castle into his power. Marching
on Āḷisāra, he captured the entrenchment at Kaddūragāma 165
and after fighting once again, he then took also the fortification
at the place called Kirāṭi[1]. The army of the Lord of men 166
Gajabāhu came hither to fight, and after throwing up an
entrenchment at a place named Vilāna, it halted here. Now 167
when Parakkamabāhu of valour hard to overcome, after
occupying an entrenched camp at Nālandā[2], during his sojourn
there, heard of this, he sent off secretly two or three hundred 168
thieves practised in house-breaking[3] and directed them to steal 169
up to the entrenchment with sharp antelope horns in the
middle of the night and to undermine it and so to take it.
The chief Māyāgeha following this instruction, had the en- 170
trenchment broken into and the enemy there seized. At the 171
village of Mattikāvāpi he again captured an entrenchment,
and at Uddhakuraṃgāma and Adhokuraṃgāma he likewise cap-
tured two fortifications. After breaking through and taking 172
an entrenchment at the village called Nāsinna, he brought
the district of Āḷisāra into his power.

[1] As the situation of Kalalahallika cannot be exactly determined, it can only be said generally of Māyāgeha's advance against Āḷisāra = Elahera, that it apparently took place from the west, while Rakkha threatened it from the south. The mention of Nālandā in v. 167 agrees with this. H. W. Codrington (I. 72) is inclined to see in Kirāṭi a slip of the pen for Sirāṭi = Hiraṭi, the name of a small river that flows from the left into the Ambanganga at Maluveyaya below Talagoda. The place Sirāṭi would then probably have to be looked for far up that river.

[2] Halfway between Matale and Dambul.

[3] P. *saṃdhibheda.* The phrase *saṃdhiṃ chindati* means "to carry out a burglary". D.I. 52^{24}; M.I. 516^{6}, II. 88^{7}; *saṃdhicchedana* DhCo. IV. 34^{5}. Likewise in Pkr., Jacobi, Erzählungen in Mâhârâshtrî, p. $67^{9, 33}$, 74^{35} ff.

173 Now about this time the King (Parakkama), acquainted
with the right method, gave his officers the order to take
174 Pulatthinagara at once. The Lankādhinātha Rakkha and the
Jīvitapotthakin[1] Sukha marched in haste from the Talākatthalī[2]
175 entrenchment, fought actions at several places on the way
with the hostile army and fought a battle at the place Ra-
176 jakamatasambādha. Then after fighting in the region of
Milānakkhetta and setting forth from there, fighting in the
177 open field and slaying many of the enemy, they in pursuit
of the foe, reached Daraaga, delivered there also an action
178 in which they remained victorious, advanced then thence to
Mangalabegāma[3], broke through the entrenchment here by
force and after annihilating the enemy, halted at this en-
trenchment

179 The ruler of Rohaṇa, the Prince Mānābharaṇa[4], who had
on several occasions fought with the officers of the Lord of
180 men Gajabāhu and suffered defeats and losses, had at that
time given up the idea of war and discouraged in heart, kept
181 quiet He had appeared in company with the bhikkhu order
which dwelt in the three fraternities[5], and entered into
182 an alliance[6] with Gajabāhu But now when he heard
that the officers of the Monarch Parakkama had waged war

[1] The title occurs again 70 318 and 72 161 (Mandin) and 74 90 (Kitti) In our passage all MSS (and also Col Ed) have *°putthakī*, likewise 70 318

[2] Rakkha had evidently after his victory at Āligāma (see above *vv 112 ff*) *again occupied* Talātthalī (= Talagoda) and had halted here to await the operations of Māyāgeha Their successful issue has safe-guarded Rakkha's left flank and made possible the main thrust against Pulatthinagara

[3] For this place which is mentioned as the first station in the description of Parakkamabāhu's withdrawal from Pulatthinagara see note to 67. 53 Rakkha is now only about 10 or 15 miles from the capital

[4] *Son of* Sirivallabha and cousin of Parakkamabāhu.

[5] See note to 60 56.

[6] P. *vasi kantasamdhāno*, lit · "he lived with G as one who had concluded a friendly treaty with him"

with great forces against the Lord of men Gajabāhu and had 183
in every battle cut down the enemy and carried off the victory,
the Prince Mānābharaṇa reflected thus: "Assuredly King 184
Parakkamabāhu who has vast resources at his disposal, will
shortly take Rājaraṭṭha; but once Rājaraṭṭha is taken possession 185
of by the Monarch, it will be impossible to remain in the
province of Rohaṇa." He therefore gave up his treaty with 186
King Gajabāhu and joined Parakkamabāhu with whom he con-
cluded an alliance. The mighty one armed the able-bodied men 187
amongst the inhabitants of his two provinces and occupied an
entrenched camp at the village called Sobara.

At this time the King Parakkamabāhu, who wished to 188
perform a deed of exceeding prowess, thought thus: "Without 189
my officers who are stationed at divers places, learning of it,
I shall betake myself with warriors of my immediate retinue[1],
to Pulatthinagara, storm in combat gateway, turrets and bas- 190
tions, force my way into the town and — hurrah — capture
Gajabāhu." The clever one summoned to him the chief Māyā- 191
geha who was stationed in Ambavana and told him what he
had planned. Now in order to come to Ambavana under the 192
pretext of another object and to reach Pulatthinagara from
there, he spake secretly to him thus: "Send me a message to 193
this effect: I intend celebrating a specially splendid festival
for the Buddha. For making offerings unto the Buddha let
Their Lordships send me the sacrificial objects, the shells, 194
the five loud-sounding musical instruments, the fly whisks,
the white umbrella and the flag streamers, and come thither 195
and behold my festival." Māyāgeha betook himself to Amba- 196
vana and after he had prepared for the festival, sent back the
message in obedience to these words. When the glorious 197
King beheld it, he rejoiced and after having had the message
read aloud to the circle of his dignitaries, he sent off the 198
sacrificial implements with all speed to Māyāgeha and gave his
dignitaries to understand in every way that he himself meant
to go. The highest (of the officials) who saw through the 199

[1] For *sahavaḍḍhita* see note to 67. 52.

King's intention, sent word to his brother, the Nagaragiri
200 (Mahinda) When the latter heard of the affair, he left Moravāpi[1] and appeared in haste with his troops before the Ruler
201 To the question why he had come, he made reply that he had come because he had seen through the intention of his
202 Lord, and he spake further "For slaves such as I am, if they are in existence, the aim is solely the conquest of the hostile
203 king Therefore have I arisen and shall capture Gajabāhu
204 with army and train and deliver him up to the Lord" With these words the King's officer craved permission to depart
205 When the ambitious chief Māyāgeha, the Lankādhinātha Kitti and many other powerful officers saw this they (likewise)
206 besought leave and cried I first, I first Thereupon the Monarch who was skilled in plans of war, explained his plan of
207 action and sent off his officers to begin the campaign They all began to march with adequate[2] army and train and occu-
208 pied an entrenched camp not far from Nalandā Heavy clouds[3] formed and began to rain, cleaving the earth, as it were, on
209 every side with the floods of water When the Sovereign saw the clouds, he who loved the power of truth, fearing the army might become wet through, made the solemn declaration[4] with
210 this determination "If the winning of the royal dominion is to serve only for the welfare of the people and of the Order, then shall the god not let it rain" And even so it happened
211 there Thereupon he sent food prepared in vinegar, bananas, crushed rice and the like and all kinds of cakes in great
212 quantities (to the troops) In order that many people could

[1] Mahinda had thus taken up his position here after being relieved by Deva *For the situation of the lake see notes to 70 67 72. 177*

[2] I take *yogga* to be the adjective fitting corresponding W on the other hand regards it as substantive with the meaning conveyance carriage since he translates with their chariots and men and waggons" *But in this case it seems to me that yogga* and *vāhana* would form a barely tolerable tautology See also above v 23, 69 &c

[3] *In my edition I have kept more closely to the MSS Now I should* prefer to adopt the emendation of the Col Ed *mahāmegho* as otherwise there is no suitable subject to *vassitum ārabhi*

[4] P *saccakiriyā* For this term see Mhvs trsl p 125 n 3

drink water at the same time, he sent several thousand bamboo
staves in which holes had been made, which were hollow[1] 213
throughout and in which one, after filling them with water,
had closed the holes[2]. The dignitary Mahinda now marched 214
with strong forces and took the stronghold at the place called
Lahulla, after slaying the enemy. At the news of this the 215
Laṅkānātha (Kitti[3]) also started in haste, took the fort at the
place called Hattanna and cut down the foe. When the chief 216
Māyāgeha heard that he marched in haste with large forces
and pushed forward as far as Khaṇḍigāma. The four-membered 217
army[4] of the Lord of men Gajabāhu was hemmed in on three
sides in the narrow pass of Khaṇḍigāma. The son of the 218
Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti), Laṅkāpura[5] by name, a great war hero,
came to the Khaṇḍigāma pass[6]. He brought the whole of 219
the forces which had come from three directions into one
direction and pursued them, the great war hero, as a lion a
herd of elephants. Thereupon the troop leaders with the 220
Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti) at the head, after killing a great mass
of troops of the Lord of men Gajabāhu, advanced to the place 221
called Koddhaṅgulikakedāra. The troops of Gajabāhu reached
Pulatthinagara in disorder.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu saw his great army 222
enter, he thought, since pride had awakened mightily in him,

[1] P. *ekarandhaṃ*. For the meaning cf. skr. *randhravaṃśa* "hollow bamboo." (BR. s. v.)

[2] Not only the openings above and below, but for the transport of the water, also the holes bored lengthwise for drinking.

[3] It is clear from v. 205, that the Laṅkādhinātha mentioned here is Kitti.

[4] The four members (*aṅgāni*) or elements of the army are: elephants, cavalry, chariot warriors and infantry.

[5] This must be the Daṇḍanātha Laṅkāpura mentioned so often later, (76. 82 ff.). But otherwise *laṅkāpura* is a title. Thus Kaḍakkuḍa 1., 72. 39, Rakkha 1., 75. 70, Deva 1., 75. 130.

[6] A Kandegama lies in the Negampaha Korale, northwest of Dambul-Jambukola. If this is our Khaṇḍigāma, it must be assumed that Gajabāhu in order to hold up the advance of Kitti and the other generals, undertook an attack on the left flank. The assault is parried by Kitti's son.

223 thus "When my father, the Monarch, entered into the com-
pany of the gods and when as yet no stability had been
224 attained in my father's realm, then came Kittisirimegha and
Sirivallabha, advancing from two sides with the intention of
225 making war on me, but they were unable to behold my
victorious banner and fled, since then they have their whole
226 life long given up the idea of war Now I have achieved
stability in Rājaraṭṭha and I possess a complete, four-membered
227 army If now, equipping army and train, I advance to fight,
228 what king will be able to hearken to my war drum?" Thus
swollen with pride, King Gajabāhu ordered the dignitaries of
229 his immediate retinue to put the army in battle trim After
they had placed in readiness well armoured elephants and
horses proved in battle and large masses of troops of capable
230 warriors, armed with the five weapons, further also the
mercenaries of the Keralas, Kaṇṇāṭas, Damiḷas, and the like,
231 the dignitaries at once informed the King With a strong
force the latter left glorious Pulatthinagara and reached the
232 place called Sikaviyala The troop leaders with the Lankā-
dhinātha Rakkha[1] at the head offered battle there to the Lord
233 of men Gajabāhu The great heroes broke through the (ranks
of the) elephants and horses, unhorsed their riders and put
234 to flight the Ruler of men together with his army The King
withdrew in haste to his town, had the gates locked and hid
235 himself in a sewer[2] In pursuit of the King the soldiers (of
Rakkha) arrived, surrounded Pulatthinagara on all sides and
236 began to break through walls, turrets and bastions, and the
237 spies who were stationed in the town opened the gate They
entered with ease, captured the Monarch Gajabāhu alive and
238 brought him to the palace The Princes Coḷagangakumāra
and Vikkantabāhu they fettered and threw into prison

[1] According to v 177 8 of our pariccheda Rakkha was stationed at Mangalabegāma

[2] The translation is only guess work The idea seems to be to express something derogatory to Gajabahu The word *manur*ī is otherwise unknown W has Anurā, but this is no doubt wrong It might of course have also been *d*manurā

Thereupon the dignitaries informed their master of what had 239
taken place. When the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) heard that,
with the insight which grasps the right method, he sent with 240
the message: until we see one another under an auspicious
star thou shalt live free of all fear of me — costly garments 241
and perfumes and ornaments, articles of his own use, to Gaja-
bāhu. The officers and the heads of districts hereupon took 242
counsel together and sent the following message to the Mo-
narch (Parakkamabāhu): "So long as the King (Gajabāhu) is 243
alive, the people dwelling in the kingdom will not submit to
thy sovereignty: he must therefore be put to death." When 244
the Monarch heard that, his heart was moved with pity, and
he thought: the king must in no case be put to death. He 245
fetched the clever Senāpati Deva who was stationed in Senā-
gāma[1], and spake to him as follows: "If the heads of districts 246
and the officers, grown insolent by their victory in fight, slay
the King (Gajabāhu) whom they have captured, that is not
right. And if they plunder the town and ill-treat the people 247
and become unbridled, that is likewise not right. The gaining 248
of the royal dignity takes place for the welfare of the Order
and the people alone, but not for the purpose of slaying the
Monarch does it happen. Therefore thou must go there, hold 249
the unbridled in check, take the King under thy protection
and make the town secure.". Thus with this charge the King 250
sent away the Senāpati[2]; the latter marched with the army
and betook himself to Pulatthinagara.

Meanwhile already before the departure of the Senāpati, 251
unbridled, low-minded people disregarding the commands of
the Lord of men, had broken open the house doors in 252
Pulatthinagara, plundered goods and stolen raiment and
ornaments of the people. Splendid Pulatthinagara afflicted 253

[1] The place is mentioned above in v. 131 and 132 in connection with the operations of Deva. But according to v. 161 Deva had finally taken up a position at Siyāmahantakuddāla. Thus he must in the meantime have altered his position.

[2] P. *rājindo senindaṃ* with pun: "the lord among kings (sends) the lord over the army."

by the soldiers was at that time (in wild agitation) like the
sea, when at the end of a world age it is lashed by the storm.
254 Enraged at such action, all the people who dwelt in the town,
the officials and the councillors, the townsmen and the troops
255 gathered together, betook themselves to Mānābharaṇa, told
256 him of the events and spake as follows: "Ye must come with
us, we shall take to ourselves the royal dominion and make
257 it over to you. Only help must be brought so us." Also the
officer Gokaṇṇa, who was stationed in Kālavāpi, sent a mes-
258 senger to him (with the request) to come speedily. When the
Monarch Mānābharaṇa heard the whole tale the imprudent
259 one took counsel with his foolish ministers. He thought: under
the pretext of setting free the King, I will arise, slay the
260 enemy and get hold of the whole of Rājaraṭṭha. He equipped
in haste the able-bodied men among the inhabitants of his
two provinces and marched together with the officials and the
261 forces hailing from Rājaraṭṭha, to the town, delivered there
a bitter action and cut down the whole army large as it was,
262 without remnant. Then the Monarch went up to the palace
and visited the Ruler of men Gajabāhu, showing him the
263 customary reverence. Hereupon in order to remove the fears of
this Lord of men and of the dwellers in his realm, he let some
264 days pass, then he slew the whole of the officers of the Mo-
narch Gajabāhu, took the King captive and threw him into a
265 dungeon. Then when he had seized everything, all the ele-
phants and horses and the wealth in the treasure house, in
266 the belief that his dominion was now assured, he fetched the
sacred Tooth Relic, the Relic of the Alms-bowl, his mother[1] and
267 all his wives from Rohaṇa, and himself void of all pity, the
foolish Prince, took counsel secretly with his mother and his
268 officers thus: "The troops in Rājaraṭṭha, so long as this King
269 is in life, will never submit; therefore he must be slain. If
we were to kill him openly, there would be a great tumult,

[1] Sugalā, the granddaughter of Vijayabāhu I. who also later on plays a leading part in the wars between Rohaṇa and Parakkamabāhu. The tooth relic (*dāṭhādhātu*) and the alms bowl relic (*pattadhātu*) have already become the palladium of the kingdom.

therefore this Monarch must be slain in secret." He had the 270
King ill-treated with bad food and a bad couch and set about
putting him to death by poison. King Gajabāhu could not 271
stand the ill-treatment he received from the Prince Mānābharaṇa.
He sent secretly to Parakkamabāhu and let him know: "I see 272
no other help for me save through thee. Therefore without 273
delay revive thou me who am tortured with the fiery torment
of pain, by the rain shower of pity." When the King (Pa- 274
rakkamabāhu) had rightly heard all these words of the King
(Gajabāhu) he who was a fount of pity, was filled with the
greatest distress. He thought: it is fitting that I, since he 275
has suffered on my account this great wrong through Mānā-
bharaṇa, should free him from his misfortune, and although 276
his forces and his implements of war had been lost, he being
of the breed of great men, let not his courage sink, but chose 277
from among the people of his retinue capable men, granted
them offices and showed them great distinction. To the chief 278
Māyāgeha he granted the office of adhikārin and that of a
laṅkādhikārin[1] to the Saṅkhanāyaka[2] Kitti. Of the two brothers, 279
the generals[3], the prudent Monarch conferred on the elder the
rank of a chief of the Kesadhātus[4], on the younger that of 280
a nagaragalla[5]. He granted to both great distinction and
numerous troops and thus won them for himself.

After the prudent (Prince) had in this way, in a short 281
time equipped a large and strong force he sent it in divers
directions. To the place with the name of Vacāvāṭaka in the 282
Merukandara district he sent Rakkha, the Chief of the Kesadhātus 283
with his troops, to Maṅgalabegāma the Laṅkādhikārin Rakkha,

[1] The title *laṅkādhikārin* seems to denote a higher rank than *laṅkādhināyaka* etc. (see note to 70. 24); for Kitti on whom the former title has just been conferred as a distinction, was up till now (cf. 70. 205) Laṅkādhinātha.

[2] The title *saṅkhanāyaka* (here *saṅkhaka°*) occurs again in conjunction with Nātha (72. 31, 75. 75) and Rakkha (72. 41).

[3] The *daṇḍanāyakabhātaro* who are mentioned several times, are called according to 72. 162, Kitti and Saṅkhadhātu.

[4] See note to 57. 65.

[5] The same as *nagaragiri*. See note to 66. 35.

the Laṅkādhikārin Kitti to the locality called Kyānagāma,
284 but the two brothers, the generals, the Ruler sent with
285 large forces to the village of Tiṇimakkula[1]. To the Senāpati Deva shut up in Pulatthinagara, the Monarch then sent
286 his house-breakers, fetched him hither[2], gave him a great army, like to the army of the gods, and sent him, aware of
287 the right method, to Gaṅgātaṭāka[3]. All of them as they were appointed for the various districts, marched forth with their troops, plundered here and there on the road leading to the
288 town, struck off the heads of the foe, spread great panic, cut off the grain supplies and thus harassed the people in the
289 town. Within and without Pulatthinagara the soldiers[4] stationed for that (purpose) slew (the enemy) and put him to
290 flight. No people now left the town for wood or leaves
291 through fear of the wholesale pillage[5]. By blocking at various points the road leading from Rohaṇa, they also stopped
292 the traffic for the people dwelling there. All the people shut up in the town with King Mānābharaṇa were like weakened
293 birds in a cage[6]. The two brothers, the generals, hereupon

[1] Of the localities here named besides Maṅgalabegāma (see above notes to 67. 53 and 70. 178) Merukandara (41. 19, 44. 28 etc.) occurs as a safe refuge in Malaya for the pursued and Kyānagāma (72. 207, 264) in another connection. They all lay probably at no great distance southwest and south of Pulatthinagara.

[2] But cf. the note below to v. 289. As to the "burglars" (*cora*) see 70. 168.

[3] The modern Kantalai, the name of a big reservoir on the road from Dambul to Trincomalee (cf. W. note to the passage). Deva had thus the task of attacking the capital from the north.

[4] From this verse it must be assumed that Deva's whole force had not left the town, but that at least a part had remained behind, perhaps *in the citadel, in order to work* with the troops coming from outside. How W's translation can be brought into harmony with the traditional text I fail to see.

[5] The acc. *sabbaṃ* is governed by the first part — *vilumpana* — of the following compound, a construction not rare in the Cūlavaṃsa.

[6] The Col. Ed. reads *khittā pakkhino viya pañjare*; the MSS. all have as far as I can see, *khinnā* or *khiṇṇā*. Cf. 72. 209.

engaged in action with the chief Kontadisāvijaya[1] and after 294
fighting with the force under the command of the Laṅkā-
dhinātha Bodhi, they pursued (the foe) to Pulatthinagara.
The Chief of the Kesadhātus (Rakkha) who was stationed at 295
the village of Vacāvāṭaka, fought an action with the general
called Uttama; he gained the victory, advanced to the village 296
called Nāla, fought here with the general of the name of
Buddhanāyaka[2] and was victorious. The Adhikārin[3] Rakkha 297
who was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma, then fought with the
enemy and took the place called Hattanna[4]. The same fought 298
at Khaṇḍigāma[5] full of bitterness, with the Adhikārin Nātha
and put him and his army gloriously to flight. When the 299
Sovereign Mānābharaṇa heard that, he marched with his war-
riors to Māsīviyala to fight with him. At the same time the 300
Adhikārin Kitti who stood in Kyānagāma, and the Senāpati
Deva in Gaṅgātaṭāka, and the two brothers, the generals, who 301
stood in the village of Ṭīṇimakkula, also went forth to fight
with large forces. Slaying or routing all the foes who faced 302
them, they pressed forward in a short time from various
sides to Pulatthinagara, drove away the soldiers who were 303
stationed round the town to protect it, set free the Ruler
Gajabāhu and brought the wives, the children and the mother, 304
as well as the whole fortune of King Mānābharaṇa into their
power. The Lord of men Gajabāhu set free from these, fled 305
at once and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra[6]. When 306
the Monarch Mānābharaṇa who was fighting with the Laṅ-
kādhikārin Rakkha, heard of all these events, he was struck 307

[1] It is possible that the name is Konta and disāvijayanāyaka a title. The man is not otherwise mentioned.

[2] I assume that here *nāyaka* or *nātha* is not the title "chief" or "general", but belongs to the name. Cf. 72. 266 *Buddhanāyakanāmena.* See also 72. 171, 270.

[3] An abbreviation of laṅkhādhikārin; See 70. 283, 72. 37 etc.

[4] Cf. 70. 215.

[5] Cf. 70. 216-218. Thus all the places formerly taken which had been lost in the interval, are now recaptured.

[6] See note to 61. 43.

by the arrow of pain which comes from the separation from
the loved ones, and no longer caring for his life, he came
308 again equipped with armour and weapons with large forces
at night into the town and fought a great battle, thinking
309 of naught else but the destruction of the foe But when the
Lankādhinātha Bodhi[1] fell fighting in the battle, he was
310 unable to hold out longer in Pulatthinagara. He took the
sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, his mother and
his wives and betook himself to Rohaṇa.

311 Now at this time Parakkamabāhu left Buddhagāma[2], to
set free the King, came to the neighbourhood of the town
312 and after having a fine two-storeyed palace built, he sojourned
313 with his army and train in the village of Giritaṭāka[3] Now
at that time some warriors of the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu)
had betaken themselves, to recover from the hardships of the
314 war, to the village of the name of Tannaru Treacherous
officers of the Ruler Gajabāhu without troubling[4] themselves
315 about the King, began suddenly a squabble with them When
King Parakkamabāhu heard that, he was wroth and sent his
316 own officers to take Gajabāhu captive The Lankādhikārin Kitti
and the Senāpati Deva hereupon marched with large forces to
317 the village of Tannaru Fighting three times with the officers
of the Monarch Gajabāhu a great battle, they destroyed nu-
318 merous foes The Nagaragiri Nātha and the Jīvitapotthakin

[1] See above v 294

[2] Thus his headquarters were here between Nalanda and Dambul See note to 58 43

[3] Now Giritala beside the road leading from the Minneri lake (Maṇibīra) to Polonnaruva, distant from the latter about six miles as the crow flies Cf Bell, ASC. 1905 (= SP XX, 1909) p 20

[4] P *rājānaṃ piṭṭhito katvā* Cf for the meaning skr *pṛṣṭhataḥ kṛ* "to leave someone or something unnoticed, disregarded BR. s v *pṛṣṭha* The King is Parakkamabāhu His nearness does not disturb their pugra city Or the King may be Gajabāhu The officers are "treacherous", because they attack the soldiers of Parakkamabāhu who at that time was Gajabāhu s ally and tried to rescue him Parakkama considered of course, Gajabāhu the culprit and held him responsible for the treachery of his officers.

Mandin[1], put the hostile army to flight at the village of Vālukapatta. And also at the village of Tannaru the officers 319
with their large force destroyed a hostile army that faced them, then marched farther, fought an action once more at 320
Kohombagāma and after slaying many, they broke down the fortification and captured it. Numerous well-armed foes sta- 321
tioned[2] at Ambagāma they put to flight and brought the fortress into their power. Thence they set off and after again 322
winning a victory at Tannitittha, they marched to Antaravitthi and beat the enemy here. At this time some officers 323
of Parakkamabāhu were in Pulatthinagara at the head of a large force. To fight with them there came officers of Gaja- 324
bāhu under the command of the Adhikārin Deva, but (they) suffered a defeat. In the same way they[3] defeated numerous 325
foes at the place named Kālapilla and after cutting down the enemy, took up their position at Madhukavanaganṭhi. They 326
all started in haste and marched further dispersing themselves in different directions with the intention of seizing the King.
When the Ruler (Gajabāhu) heard that the enemy widespread 327
on all sides, was approaching, he saw no other step that he could take; so the King sent to the congregation of bhikkhus 328
belonging to the three fraternities, settled in Pulatthinagara, the message: "I see for myself no protection save with the 329
venerable brethren; let them out of pity free me from my sorrow". When the bhikkhus heard these words, they started 330
off, their hearts moved with pity, for Giritaṭāka, sought out the Ruler (Parakkamabāhu), and after exchanging greetings, 331
they asked by the King the reason for their coming, spake the following conciliatory words: "The Exalted One to whom 332
pity was the highest, expounded many times in many discourses the misery of discord and the blessings of concord.

[1] These two officers have so far not been mentioned. For the titles see notes to 66. 35 and 70. 174.

[2] The gerund *saṃnayhitvā* is subordinate to the part. past *ṭhite*, as in v. 327 *avattharitvāna* to the part. pres. *āyantiṃ*.

[3] I. e. the troops of Parakkamabāhu.

333 Now the Ruler of men (Gajabāhu) has neither a son nor
334 brothers, but he himself, being old, is near death. Thy pledged word that the gaining of the royal dominion has as object only the furtherance of the laity and of the Order will thus
335 shortly be fulfilled. Therefore shalt thou give up the strife and return to thine own province, hearkening to the word of the bhikkhu *congregation*".

336 Thus the King (Parakkamabāhu), hearkening to the words of the Order, gave up the kingdom gained with great trouble to King (Gajabāhu) and betook himself to his own province. Ha, how great was his mercy!

Here ends the seventieth chapter, called "The Surrender of the Royal Dignity", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LXXI

— — — — — —[1]

The Ruler Gajabāhu betook himself to Gaṅgātaṭāka, made it 1
his residence and dwelt there happily. But the Monarch Mānā- 2
bharaṇa sent gifts to him in order to remain allied with him
after the conclusion of a treaty. But the Ruler of men Gajabāhu 3
who desired no treaty with him, betook himself to the vihāra
by name Maṇḍalīgiri[2]. Here he had the words: "I have made 4
over Rājaraṭṭha to the King Parakkama" graven on a stone 5
tablet, returned then to Gaṅgātaṭāka and died during his so-
journ there, visited by a disease after reigning two and twenty
years. Thereupon the foolish ministers of Gajabāhu met to- 6
gether, betook themselves to Koṭṭhasāra, whither they had
the body brought, and after sending messengers to Mānābharaṇa 7
to come hither in all haste, they took up their abode there.
When the Lord of men Parakkama heard the news of the 8
King's death he equipped his army and came to Pulatthina-
gara.

The Monarch Mānābharaṇa in the province of Rohaṇa 9
listened to the words of evil-minded people who had come
with large forces from Rājaraṭṭha and thought: "If I make 10
these people my allies[3], I shall certainly get possession of
Rājaraṭṭha." With a host of troops he left Rohaṇa and came 11
to Koṭṭhasāra swayed by wishes impossible of fulfilment. When 12

[1] Cf. below note to v. 32.

[2] See note to 46. 29.

[3] The pronoun *ime* shows that these words are still part of the oratio recta. W. includes them erroneously in the principal sentence.

the mighty Parakkamabāhu whose valour transcending the limits of thought was scarcely to be surpassed, heard of these
13 events, he thought "The gossip of worthless people from Rājaraṭṭha who have forsaken the Lord of men Gajabāhu, the dispenser of great favours, and his officers, and have given
14 up the desire to fight, and not even master of the clothes
15 they wear, fleeing from fear have come to him, the Ruler Mānābharaṇa has believed as if it were pure truth and has
16 come forth to fight[1] My dignitaries will give him a defeat twofold as heavy even as that which the Lord of men Gaja-
17 bāhu had to suffer I shall not permit him to come to this
18 bank of the Mahāvālukagangā ' And versed in preparations for war, the prudent one made his four-membered army with the officers take up their position at the different fords from Sarogāmatittha as far as Gokaṇṇa[2]

19 Now the great dignitaries who were of great wisdom, came together and with clasped hands begged of the Monarch the
20 (holding of the) king's consecration "Former kings, O Great King, have when they were victorious, in order to increase

[1] W has neither understood the construction of the sentence nor its meaning Verses 13 15 belong together The subject is *Mānābharana bhūpati* The principal verb is *āganchi* Subordinate to this is the gerund *saddahitvā palāpam* The gen *dujjanānam pavitthānam* is governed by *palāpam* Subordinate to this participle again are the gerunds *cajitvā patvā palayitvā* The four missing syllables in 13 c I have supplied in a similar way to the Col Ed

[2] The Mahaveliganga is evidently regarded here in its whole course from the mountains up to its mouth as the frontier between Rohaṇa and Rajaraṭṭha A happy discovery of H W Codrington's I 68 was the indentification of Sarogāma with the modern *Vilgamuva* (Sinh. vil 'pond lake = P *saro*) in Laggala Pallesiya Pattuva (*Census II* p 100) at a short distance from the left bank of the stream. Here evidently the Hembarave crossing was to be safeguarded It seems to me curious that the Veragantota crossing at Alut nuvara is not mentioned It lies 13 miles higher up and is much used now The bed of the Mahaveliganga is however subject to great changes Gokaṇṇa I regard as the Bay of Trincomalee (Koddiyar Bay) or the spot where the Mahaveliganga flows into it. This explains the mention in *41 79* of a *Gokannakamahannava.*

by every means the fear and affection of their subjects and 21
to show forth everywhere their own abundance of glory, performed the king's consecration, even while they were still
at the seat of war. A ruler fully equipped with political 22
wisdom and self-discipline, must ever pay heed to the keeping up of good ancient custom. Thine age, your majesty, is 23
youthful, but thy glory is irresistible and scarce to be surpassed the fulness of the courage of thine arms. Thy blossom- 24
ing fortune[1] would be capable of wielding sovereign power[2] over the whole of Jambudīpa, let alone the island of Laṅkā.
From the first age of the world to the present day thy line 25
was pure as milk poured into a white shell: hence on a 26
favourable day must be performed the king's consecration which must of necessity bring happiness to the whole world."
King Parakkamabāhu who overcame evil by the wrinkling of 27
his brows, granted the request, he the best of the wise[3], and 28
on a day proved auspicious by a favourable constellation he
placed the crown on his head, arrayed in all his jewels. And, 29
though he received the tidings that the Ruler Mānābharaṇa had come to this bank of the stream, he heeded that as little
as grass, and laid his armour and his weapons near at hand 30
in a jewel maṇḍapa which he himself ascended. Then in 31
gorgeous procession he left his palace, marched round the town with his right side towards it, like a fearless lion,
stunned with amazement by his splendour the thronging people, 32
and returned to the royal palace which was an abode of bliss[4].

[1] So I translate *kusalodaya*. It is very nearly the same as the favourite *puññodaya*. See 37. 139.

[2] P. *vibhutta* = skr. *vibhutva*.

[3] P. *pavivekin* from *paviveka*, a term suggestive of the Sāṅkhya System, in which *viveka* is the expression for the discerning knowledge through which delivrance is attained. Garbe, die Sâṃkhya-Philosophie, p. 137.

[4] S. and B. have assumed that here we have the end of pariccheda 71 and at the same time a gap of unknown extent. The signature at the close of the whole chapter describes it as the 72nd, thus number 71

is missing completely. In my edition I have adopted this view and have begun the verses of the new section with the number 1. I must point out however, that as far as the contents go, a gap is scarcely to be noticed. The coronation festival is evidently at an end with the return to the palace. Perhaps it was hastened by Mānābharaṇa's advance. On the other hand Parakkamabāhu had already made preparations for the war according to v. 17-18, by occupying the various fords, and now the attack begins at the first of these places, at Sarogāma. W. thinks that all that is missing is the artificial strophe (together with the signature) which is customary at the close of a pariccheda.

CHAPTER LXXII

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE CONSECRATION

Now the Mahālekha[1] Mahinda approached with a great 1
army and fought a great battle with the mighty Kesadhātu 2
Rakkha who was stationed at Sarogāmatittha. The Kesadhātu
Rakkha by name, the mighty one, slew like a lion that has 3
broken into an elephant herd, many of his men in combat
and drove the Mahālekha before him as a fierce storm wind
blows cotton, he the mighty him together with his army and 4
train. When then the latter crossing by the ford of Talanī-
gāma, was fain to renew the fight, the Kesadhātu Rakkha 5
put him again to flight after a sharp encounter with him.

In like manner the Kesadhātu named Buddha[2], having fought 6
with the (enemy's) many officers a terrible battle and having 7
slain many warriors, defeated and put to flight the Ruler
Mānābharaṇa who offering battle had crossed the river at the 8
Pūnagāma ford. He also took care that he (Mānābharaṇa)
gave up the idea of ever approaching this ford again.

The chief Māyāgeha[3] who was appointed to guard the 9
ford called Samīrukkha[4] alone at the head of his officers in
the same way crushed Gajabhuja who with his army had 10
crossed that ford with the object of fighting.

With the Māragiri[5] Mattatāla by name, who with his 11
army came with the intention of crossing the Mahārukkha

[1] See note to 52. 33.

[2] This officer of Parakkamabāhu's is not otherwise mentioned.

[3] In 70. 83, 162 etc. described as *Māyāgehādhinātha* or °*adhināyaka* here simply *Māyāgehanāyaka*.

[4] Name of a tree = skr. *śamī*, acacia suma. Corresponds to *sāma-gas* in modern Sinh.

[5] The title *māragiri* occurs again 72. 164, 174 (Nigrodha m.)

12 ford[1], Rāma[2] by name who was stationed in Nīlagiri which was his own district, in his extraordinary courage, *fought* a
13 bitter engagement and after capturing the best soldiers whom he could get alive, he put the rest of the army to flight so that it no longer dared to go into action.

14 Another officer who guarded the Nālikeravatthu[3] ford fought then a battle against a hostile army who had ap-
15 proached to fight, cut down many soldiers and scattered the rest of the army without remnant on all sides.

16 Another distinguished officer who was appointed to the ford called Anantarabhaṇḍaka for the guarding of it, drove with a large force a strong army of the hostile king that had
17 *advanced to fight, together with its officers to the last man,* to the four winds of heaven, whereby the hero turned the
18 battlefield into a mass of flesh, just as the storm wind (scatters) a mountain of cloud so that its violence is scattered flutteringly on all sides[4].

19 Again another high officer appointed to guard the Kāṇa-tālavana[5] ford, saw to it that the hostile army that had come
20 forward to battle, gave up all thought of resuming (the enterprise) after he had fought a great battle with his whole army and train.

21 The Adhikārin, Kitti[6] by name, who was stationed at the

[1] "Ford of the great tree" or "ford of the euphorbia" (skr. *mahāvṛkṣa*, as borrowed word in Sinh with the same meaning) The corresponding Sinh word *māruk* means however, coco-nut palm. W. H. Codrington recognises the locality in Marake situated five miles below Hembarave on the left bank of the Mahaveliganga

[2] Cf. note to 70 137 where *nīlagiri* seems to be used as a title. When in our passage Rāma is described as *saratthavāsiko* that seems to point to the fact that the ford protected by Rāma was situated in the district which was controlled by him or which was his birth place, and that the name of this district was Nīlagiri The title which is applied exclusively to Rāma would then in this case be borrowed from the name of his home (*nīlagiritthita*)

[3] "Coco nut palm plantation"

[4] P. *samantā ābaddha samrambham* For *samrambha* "violence" cf PTS. PD s v

[5] "Palmyra palm wood of the blind."

[6] See 70 278, where the advancement of Kitti to the rank of *laṅkādhikārin* (here in short *adhikārin*) is mentioned.

Yakkhasūkara[1] ford after destroying many soldiers in a bitter
fight[2], defeated there a hostile body of troops that had ap- 22
proached for combat. Now while he stood at the same ford
he had in consequence of a scarcely to be evaded command 23
of the Great King Parakkama, to betake himself to him while
he entrusted (another) high dignitary there with the guarding
of the ford. This man also three times crushed a hostile 24
force that came hither and took care that it lost all courage
to fight once more.

The Jitagiri[3] Santa stationed at the Vihāravejjasāla ford, 25
completely annihilated a great army that was about to cross,
the army, namely, of the hostile king, fighting with him a 26
terrific battle with mighty army and train.

The Ādipotthakin[4] by name Kitti, stationed at the Assa- 27
maṇḍala[5] ford with a large force, the Laṅkāgiri Mahī[6] by
name, with a strong army, and yet another large army cut 28
up a hostile army that had approached, and returned then
with speed each to his appointed place[7].

[1] H. W. Codrington is certainly right in identifying this name with the present *Yakkure* (Census 1921, II, p. 438). It lies on the right bank of the river and at the entrance of the Sahassatittha crossing mentioned so frequently later, now Dastota, south of Polonnaruva.

[2] P. *katvā kathāsese*, lit.: "after making them so that only the tidings (of them) remained."

[3] The title, if it is such, which I think probable, only occurs in this place.

[4] The title which is only borne by Kitti (also 72. 160, 207) alternates 72. 182 with *bhaṇḍārapotthakin*. It therefore designates the superintendent of the royal store-rooms.

[5] If the name preserves the memory of the legend related Mhvs. 10. 53 ff., then we must look for Assamaṇḍalatittha at Kacchakatittha now Mahagantota, east of Polonnaruva.

[6] W. takes Mahīnāma for the name of the officer, which is quite possible. The title *laṅkāgiri* occurs again 72. 124 f., and 76. 250 in conjunction with the names Nātha and Sora.

[7] The verse is incomplete in the MSS. Nine syllables are missing in cd. The Col. Ed. supplies these rather differently to what I do, so that to translate with W. it would be "and returned to the king". The meaning seems to me to be that the three divisions of the troops were

29 (Other) warriors crossed the bridge of the Sakkharālaya-
30 gaṅgā[1], at *once penetrated the grove called* Sākkuṇḍa, and
having there in fight deprived numerous warriors of life, they
took from the foe the desire *to attack once more from this*
quarter
31 Hereupon the Sankhanāyaka by name Nātha, stationed at
the Sarogāma[2] ford, after he had shattered an army of the
32 hostile king come hither for battle, crossed the stream him-
self at the village of Vātiyamaṇḍapa, cut up a strong hostile
force and returned again to his post
33 In the same way a large army stationed at the Samī ford
cut up a strong hostile force which had marched for battle
34 in this direction and chased away its desire to come again
A strong royal army that had its stand at the ford called
35 Cullanāga annihilated in like manner the whole large force
of the hostile king, that equipped with armour and weapons,
36 marched in this direction At Burudatthalī the two brothers,
the generals, scattered a hostile army that had advanced in
this direction
37 The Adhikārin[3] Rakkha by name, who guarded the ford
38 Niguṇḍivālukā, *the great hero, free from all fear, destroyed*
a strong hostile force fain to cross, by carrying on the ever
39 renewed *war for two months In the same way the* Laṅkā-
pura[4] known by the name of Kaḍakkuḍa, a great hero, fight-

posted at different places on the river and that they only united in order to carry out the attack on the advancing hostile army, which was probably superior to the single divisions Cf v 32

[1] D Jayaratna has compared Sakkharālaya with the present Akurala on the S W coast of Ceylon midway between Ambalangoda and Hikkadova If this is correct then the above passage gives us a very different theatre of war Mānābharaṇa would not merely have attacked along the Mahaveliganga, but also in the extreme southwest This does not seem to be very probable

[2] According to v 1 and v 9 *fighting had already taken place* at the two crossings mentioned in v 31 and 33. The generals of Parakkama bāhu now seem to take the offensive at these two fords

[3] As above in v 21 *adhikārin* stands here for *laṅkādhikārin*

[4] See note to 70 218

ing a severe action at Yācitagāma, scattered the raging army 40
of the foe, destroying it root and branch, the courageous
(scattered) the discouraged (army), the mighty the hostile
might.

The Saṅkhanāyaka Rakkhaka stationed at Hillapattakakhaṇḍa 41
crushed a hostile army that came to fight there. Another 42
great dignitary entrusted with the care of Titthagāma, after
undertaking a great battle[1] and fighting a bitter action, put 43
to flight with his great army a royal army that had advanced
to fight, so that it lost the courage to renew the fight.
Another powerful (officer), stationed at Nandigāma, fought a 44
great battle and scattered the raging army that had advanc-
ed thither.

At the place Hedillakhaṇḍagāma the Senāpati Deva when 45
Prince Mahinda came on with strong forces in order to fight, 46
delivered battle against him four times with army and train 47
in fighting trim. He covered the battlefield with the skeletons
of the hostile warriors and robbed the Prince of his troops
without loss to his (own) army and train, followed him at 48
his heels as he took flight with his army and pushed on at
once as far as the ford called Billagāma. There for two months 49
terrible combats were waged. Even in his position there the
Senāpati put the army of the enemy to flight.

A high officer stationed at the ford called Mālāgāma[2], 50
undertaking five times[3] the festival of a great battle, scattered 51
a mighty hostile army that had come there to cross over, as
the rising sun (disperses) the mass of the darkness. Another 52
high officer appointed to watch the Goḷabāha ford, a man of

[1] P. *samāraddhamahāyuddhakaccho.* The translation is very difficult. W. translates thus "began the strife with the enemy with great vigour when he essayed to make his way through is". But I think one must judge the passage in connection with v. 50 *āraddhamahāhavasamussavo.* Possibly *kaccha* here is not skr. *kakṣā*, but *kathya*.

[2] A *Malagomuva-veva* lies midway between Ambanganga and Mahaveliganga, 12 miles N. E. of Elahera. A ford named after it would have to be looked for not far from Yakkhasūkara.

[3] P. *dasaddhavāraṃ*, thus not "ten times" as W. translates.

53 great strength and courage, routed in action a hostile force
with its officers who advanced to fight, as a lion a herd of
54 gazelles. Another officer stationed at the ford called Dīpāla,
dispersed with his troops in combat the forces which had
advanced there.

55 The course of the war[1] being such, the Great King
Parakkamabāhu who in his terrible courage was like King
56 Duṭṭhagāmaṇī thought: "Not even in Rohaṇa will I permit
King Mānābharaṇa who is here crushed in war, so find a hold."
57 And the energetic (Prince) ordered the two Kesadhātus, Devila
and Loka, who were stationed in the district of Mahāniyyāma[2]
58 and in Pañcayojana[3], the Kammanātha Ārakkha[4] and the Kañ-
59 cukināyaka[5], utterly warlike men, to enter Rohaṇa. And at
his command these doughty men fared forth thence even as the
four great kings[6] at the (command) of the King Sakka.
60 Hereupon having reached the district called Navayojana[7] and
61 having celebrated with the strong hostile army there twenty
times the main festival of a main battle and having cut up
62 the great army, they captured Navayojana. They then marched

[1] By the successful combats at the fords along the Mahaveliganga the defence seemed safeguarded. Parakkamabāhu now on his side takes the offensive in the southwest, from Dakkhiṇadesa, thus with the clear intention of outflanking the enemy's left wing The success is at once seen in the relief of the pressure on the line of the Mahavëliganga. Mānābharaṇa is forced to withdraw a part of his troops from there. It is true, a reverse soon takes place, on the one hand through the revolt of Nārāyaṇa in Anurādhapura and on the other by the enemy succeeding in crossing the river at an unguarded spot.

[2] Only mentioned here A Maniyangama lies in the Panaval Korale not far from Avisavella So also Codrington (II).

[3] Now Pasdun Korale, the territory to the east of Kalutara

[4] A Kammanāyaka Añjana is mentioned 72 206, 74. 169 I think therefore that the first part of *ārakkhakammanātha* contains the name

[5] "Chief of the chamberlains". The Kañcukināyaka mentioned here is the Rakkha named so often 75 20 ff

[6] The four mahārājas are the four protectors of the world, the *lokapālā*: Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Kubera

[7] Now Navadun Korale, the territory S and S E. of Ratnapura

thence and came to Kālagiribhaṇḍa[1]. After fighting with the
army there twenty battles, they brought it likewise into their 63
power, advanced thence farther and took likewise Dīghālika-
mahākhetta[2]. When the Ruler Mānābharaṇa received tidings 64
of these events he divided his own army and sent a part
thither.

Now at one time a great dignitary who had the care of 65
Anurādhapura, the general Nārāyaṇa, in his delusion reflected
thus: "I will bring this province into my power, build a 66
fortress and remain there independent of the kings." When 67
the Lord of men Parakkama heard of the matter he thought:
"I will destroy him without letting him take root." In all 68
haste the hero sent forth the Chief of the umbrella bearers.
As a lion of incomparable courage (falls) upon small gazelles 69
or even on elephants, so the great dignitary set forth, gave
battle to Nārāyaṇa, slew him along with his army and set
the province free from the briers (of the rebels).

As the known fords at that time were everywhere guarded 70
by the high dignitaries of the great King, as if they were
under the dominion of rakkhasas, Mānābharaṇa was not able 71
to cross them, but he passed over at an unknown ford which 72
was made known to him by dwellers in Rājaraṭṭha who had
come under his influence[3]. Now when King Parakkama-

[1] Identified by Codrington (II) with the Kalugalboḍa-raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota by which is understood the mountain country of the present Korales Kukulu, Atakalan, Kolonna and Moravak.

[2] As in 75. 60 and 75. 50 *Dīghāli* and *Mahākhetta* are mentioned separately we have to do in this passage with the coalescence of the names of two apparently adjoining localities, just as with Sūkarālibheri-pāsāṇa in 75. 98, 146. Codrington (II) looks for Mahākhetta at Paraduva, 11 miles N.N.W. of Matara, since here there are extensive rice fields on the right bank of the Nilvalaganga. Mahākhetta means "large field". On the opposite or left bank there is said to be a long canal. This might be the *Dīghāli* = Sinh. *dik-āla*. I should however expect both these localities to be farther east. Ayrton has in fact compared Dīghāli with Dikvela, east of Matara situated on the coast.

[3] W's translation *gatehi vasam attano* "who were faithful to him" is inexact.

73 bāhu heard of this event he thought to destroy him along
with his whole army at the crossing of the river, occupied
74 a stronghold at the place Mayūrapāsāṇa and sent off the
Adhikārin Rakkha, surrounded by many soldiers, a man of
75 extraordinary bravery, with a strong army and train. But
this man in his great envy could not bear the great favour
76 which the pleased and grateful King Parakkama showed to
his enemy, the Senāpati Deva, after the great battle fought
77 by him. He bore resentment to the great King and was not
zealous in the war. Groaning in the fever of his jealousy he
78 was careless and developed no energy. Now an officer of the
Lord of men Gajabāhu, a crafty man who had obtained from
79 the Monarch Parakkamabāhu freedom from punishment, had
gone with Rakkha. He rightly guessed his mood and as he
80 had formerly given counsel to King Mānābharaṇa, so now
he sent quickly to King Mānābharaṇa the message to come
81 in all haste before the fortifications were begun[1]. When the
Monarch Mānābharaṇa heard these tidings, he entrusted his
82 army with warlike enterprises at different places[2]. The Prince
Mahinda marched to Vallitittha and fought with the officers
83 of the Senāpati Deva. These killed there many warriors in
bitter fight and vanquished in one moment the Prince, the
84 powerful the powerless The King himself fought a great
battle with the Adhikārin Rakkha in which sparks flew from
85 the clash of swords. Many doughty warriors perished there
on both sides, finally the followers of the Adhikārin Rakkha
86 were scattered. Thereupon this man with his own hand alone

[1] All MSS have *sāsanam* twice over, first in pāda a then in c The Col. Ed has altered the second into *āsannam* I could not adopt this emendation It is not impossible that it is a case of carelessness on the part of the compiler But if there is to be an alteration, I should suggest reading instead of *sāsanam* in c *sampatam* "now" = skr *sāmpratam* (in contrast to *pagera* in 79 d) The unusual form — one says generally *sampati* = skr *samprati* — in conjunction with the preceding *pesesi* may have occasioned the erroneous *sāsanam*

[2] He wants in this way to conceal his action against Rakkha and make it impossible for Parakkamabāhu's other generals to come to his aid.

continued the combat and fell himself after slaying many a
good soldier. When King Parakkamabāhu, that man of ter- 87
rible courage, heard of this event he thought with smiling
lotus face: "As long as I am there what matters it whether 88
they are alive or dead? The lion seeks not allies when he
tears elephants in pieces. Even to-day I shall fulfil in combat 89
the long awakened wish of my two arms which are filled
with lust of battle. This earth ravished by intercourse with 90
many kings who plotted only evil, will I bathe in the water
of the blood of the limbs of my foes and then make her at 91
once my spouse purchased by combat[1]. For heroes such as
I am she forms in her whole expanse but a hall[2]. How 92
can any other power aid me, perhaps as a firebrand the sun
in extinguishing the mass of hostile darkness?" After reflect- 93
ing thus he came to the battlefield comparable to the fifth
sun[3] in the great ocean that was for him the army of the
hostile king. Arrived he tarried there hearkening to the sing- 94
ing given forth by numerous songstresses, feeling out the
underlying motif, as one who is first[4] among those versed in
the knowledge of moods.

[1] There is no need to depart from the reading of the MSS. *paṇīkataṃ*. The word belongs to skr. *paṇa* "trade, purchase", *paṇi* "trader". The allusion is to the old custom of purchasing the bride.

[2] The meaning seems to be this: It is to me a matter of indifference at what place I celebrate my marriage with the earth — this is of course a symbol for its dominion. In what place so ever I begin the combat there is a fitting chamber (*sālā*) for the festival. He then goes on to show why he can at once perform the ceremony. He needs not to wait for outside aid, for in comparison to him it would be as a firebrand to the sun.

[3] W: "alluding to the seven suns that are said to rise in succession at the destruction of the world, the fifth drying up the waters of the deep" (note).

[4] The compiler shows here his knowledge of the Indian Rasa doctrine. Every work of art, poetry like music, must have its special *rasa*, its underlying motif. Theory distinguishes eight, nine or ten of these. The most important are: *śṛṅgāra* "love", *vīra* "heroic mood", *bhayānaka* "horror engendering" and *hāsya* "merriment arousing motif".

95 Against the hostile army[1] with which was the Monarch
(Mānābharaṇa) approaching in pursuit of the scattered great
96 army, the great dignitaries of the Great King Parakkama hastened
forth and fought with it a terrible battle near the village
97 Badaravallī. Although the victorious army (Mānābharaṇa's)
was scattered, they nevertheless after themselves fighting the
great battle and suffering heavy losses in combat, but having
98 also slain many soldiers — beat a retreat exhausted, and wended
their way to their own country. Now the great army of the
99 foe displayed redoubled energy. Parakkamabāhu left those
who had received wounds, to the care of physicians. He
100 gazed smiling merrily at the fleeing army. The dignitaries
who had bidden their bearers[2] turn, he forced with stern glance
101 and wrinkled brow to go back. The bearers he sent himself
against the hostile army, and in order to hold high festival
102 for the meeting with Lakkhī i. e. the foe[3], and to send a clever
maiden herald, his sword liane[4], to the field of battle, he,
wishing to begin the feast of war, called to the bearer of his
103 hand weapons: Give me the Sīhala sword! Now when this
man out of ignorance brought as Sīhala sword the weapon

[1] W. has not rightly understood the context. The gerund *anubandhiya* does not belong to the subj. *mahāsenā* but is subordinate to the part. past *āgatāya* in 95 c. Mānābharaṇa is pursuing the defeated troops of the Adhikārin Rakkha. His army is therefore called *jayasenā* in 97. Then he is met by Parakkamabāhu's generals. On account of the great losses they suffer, they have to retire. Parakkama tries to prevent an absolute collapse. His generals Rakkha Kesadhātu and Nātha (v. 107) *restore the balance for the time being. There follows* finally however, the general retreat to Pulatthinagara.

[2] Their palanquin bearers. For the high officers the palanquin was the method of transport also in the field.

[3] The alteration of *veri°* into *vīra°* in the Col. Ed. is wrong. The image is again borrowed from a wedding (cf. v. 90-91). As in wedlock the man becomes master of the woman, in this case Lakkhī, the goddess *of fortune and victory, so in battle the victor of the foe.* The picture here is quite different to that of 72. 112 according to which the corrections of S. and B. have evidently been made.

[4] In Skr. literature also the sword or the blade is compared with a liane. The combination *khaḍgalatā* (as here P. *khaggalatā*) occurs frequently in the Kathāsaritsāgara (BR. s. v. *latā* 1 c).

called the Jambudīpa blade[1], he spake: "That is not the 104
Sīhala blade. Leave this (sword) that could put an end to
all the lines of hostile kings in Jambudīpa and bring me
quickly the Sīhala blade[2]". Now when, after these words, 105
they handed him the terrible Sīhala blade the King thought
again, full of pride, he who was an elephant for the binding
of elephants[3], namely the foe: In Sīhaladīpa I am unable to 106
grasp the weapon with my arm, and looked significantly[4] at 107
the face of the Kesadhātu named Rakkha standing near him
and in that of the Nagaragiri Nātha. And these twain car- 108
ried out the hint of the King and flung themselves with the
courage of lions into the midst of the great (hostile) army.
The twain seemed in consequence of their incomparable bra- 109

[1] P. *Jambudīpapāṭava*. We may take for *pāṭava* without scruple the meaning "sharpness, edge, blade". Skr. *paṭu* means "sharp, cutting" and *pāṭava* is the abstract noun, derived from *paṭu*.

[2] We have here in the MSS. a śloka of 6 pādas and what follows becomes badly confused if we do not accept it. In the present case it is certainly possible that it arose through a later interpolation of the line *Jambudīpamhi nissesaverirājakulantakaṃ*.

[3] What is thought of here is the capture of wild elephants. When the herd has been surrounded and enclosed in the corral tame elephants are brought in with whose aid the wild elephants are chained.

[4] I have interpreted the passage wrongly in my edition where I have tried to put *sāvadhāraṇaṃ* in the oratio recta with the meaning "with the exception (of my arm)". That is too forced. W's translation "that there was not a man who could even place in his hand a (proper) weapon" is also quite impossible. The text has literally: "in Sīhaladīpa with my arm unable to take the weapon, so thinking . . ." Thus the subject to *asamattho* is missing. It can only be *ahaṃ* "I". With the oratio indirecta this can be clearly seen: *he* thought *he* was incapable etc. The idea is this: At sight of the sword the King has scruples whether he should use the Sīhala sword on the island of Sīhala, that is in civil war against Sīhalas. He looks therefore *sāvadhāraṇaṃ* at his ablest generals, handing over the task to them. With undoubted skill Dhammakitti manages the transition from the heroic pose which he has ascribed to the King, to the real state of affairs and the later conditions in which the King is no longer the first among his soldiers, the leader of the army, as in the heroic age of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, but makes his generals carry out warlike enterprises according to his instructions.

very like thousands in number appearing in the midst of
110 *the battlefield. From morning until far into the night they* fought a great battle terrible by reason of the bodies of
111 hostile soldiers hewn in pieces by *sword strokes.* With folded hands the great dignitaries then informed the King: "Shattered
112 is the whole great army, we few people alone are left. But even in our small number, O Lord of men, fighting a great battle, we have not let the luck of heroes (away from us)
113 turn to the other side. As if from fear of the sight of the combat the sun has hidden himself behind the western mount. We will return[1] to Pulatthinagara and take up to-morrow the destruction of the foe. Now is not the right time[2]."
114 When the King heard that, such action found no favour in his sight, as he desired to spend the night on the spot and
115 renew the combat in the morning. Now the King void of all fear, gave himself up to slumber for a moment during
116 which the dignitaries brought him to Pulatthinagara. Now when at midnight they came to Pañcavihāra, the King awoke
117 and asked what name the place had. When the Lord of men heard from the people that it was Pañcavihāra, he flew into a rage: "That ye brought me hither while I slept was wrong of
118 you". But as he wished to take every single one of his
119 retinue without exception with him, he remained there. He filled the village with the din of the five loud clanging shell trumpets[3] and after he had himself (awaited) his retinue that
120 had not yet appeared, (and) surveyed (them), *he sent his* train on in front, kept behind them himself and came when morning *time* was *near to* Pulatthinagara.

121 When then the sun, the ancestor of his race, had risen, Parakkamabāhu who by his singular courage had the whole

[1] Important, as we see from this, as also from what follows, that the scene of these fights lay in the immediate vicinity of the capital.

[2] Again a śloka with 6 pādas in all the MSS. Here also there is the possibility of a later interpolation of the line *raṇadassana'ttā ca līno atthacale ravi.*

[3] These are the five musical instruments, of which one, the shell trumpet, is named as the most warlike.

world in his power[1], heard that at the ford called[2] Billa- 122
(gāma) the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin, named Kitti,
at the head of a great army had poured an uninterrupted 123
rain of arrows on the Adhikārin of the name of Nātha[3], on
the Prince Mahinda, the Senāpati Sukha, the Laṅkāgiri 124
Nātha and on others who had approached in that direction
and who came with their army to fight; that they had rob- 125
bed of life the Senāpati Sukha and the Laṅkāgiri Nātha
along with many warriors and had pursued the Adhikārin 126
Nātha and the Prince Mahinda who had fled with their troop
divisions; that when they had penetrated far into the pro- 127
vince, the whole army of the foe together with the troops
belonging to the country had made the road impassable and 128
hiding themselves on all sides had captured them[4]. At these
tidings the foe-tamer (Parakkamabāhu) who took ever the
greatest pleasure in doughty deeds, marched forth to relieve
the generals. But here in order to persuade the Monarch in 129

[1] Verses 122 up to the beginning of 128 *tirokatvā gahesi* form one sentence (cf. however, note on 128), the content of the news which Parakkamabāhu receives next day and which must lead to an alteration of his decisions. W. has understood that. In my edition this is not made sufficiently clear (but cf. the emendations in vol. II). Because of the new tidings the King determines in the first place to relieve his surrounded generals. The action planned against Mānābharaṇa is deferred.

[2] There had been fighting before at this ford (see 72. 48) under the Senāpati Deva who had pushed forward there from Hedillabhaṇḍagāma in pursuit of the defeated Mahinda.

[3] Mentioned above in 70. 298.

[4] The construction of the whole sentence is not correct in the original. The subject is changed as happens in the latest parts of the Cūlavs., chiefly in sentences with many gerunds: in the first place *Devasenādhināyako Kittināmādhikarī ca* is the subject, then *sakalā arātivāhinī*. The construction would be right if it ran: *Devasenādhināyake Kittināmādhikārini ca . . . vattetvā . . . pāpetvā . . . anubandiya . . . paviṭṭhesu, sakalā arātivāhinī . . . gahesi.* Here the gerunds *vattetvā* &c. would be subordinate to the past part. *paviṭṭhesu.* The word *gahesi* refers only to the encirclement by which Deva and Kitti have lost their freedom of action.

whom had awakened the resolve for combat, to return, the
130 great dignitaries with folded hands spake to him· "Save thy
exceeding great ability, scarce to be surpassed, O Lord of
131 men, we have no further might left, and the inhabitants of
the country are all under hostile influence We must betake
ourselves from here to Nandamūla and from there begin the
132 fight". With these and like representations they induced the
Lord of men to turn back, they started from there and set
133 out with the King on their way When the retainers native
to the country stationed in Nandamūla, beheld the Monarch
134 approaching with few followers they began to rain from
all sides a hail of arrows The Ruler who had halted at
135 the place called Karavālagiri[1] sent thence certain dignitaries
acknowledged to be excellent warriors and brought it to pass
136 that that division of the army gave up its desire to fight While
thus the great hero, the Ruler, sent on his retinue in advance
and followed after on the march, he came to Jambukola
137 Starting thence to relieve the Senāpati Deva, he came on the
march to a place named Navagāmapura
138 At that time the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin Kitti,
because they had not obeyed the instructions given them by
139 the Great King, lay exhausted there with their army They
had given up the fight and had fallen[2] into the power of
140 the enemy at the village named Surulla In order to persuade
the Ruler (Parakkama) — who was advancing[3] with the

[1] The Census 1921 (II 296) has a Karavalagala in the Tittavelgandahe Korale, thus in the mountains east of Hiriyala 13 miles north of Kurunegala But there are difficulties about identifying the two names We expect rather a position between Polonnaruva and Dambul Cf note to 72 147

[2] They are probably still surrounded by the enemy but have not yet capitulated All we learn further is that Parakkama had to give up the plan of relieving them as apparently their capitulation could no longer be prevented Of their later fate we hear nothing It seems however that they were freed or ransomed The Adhikārin Kitti appears again 74 90 ff and the Laṅkāpura Deva mentioned 75 190 76 250 ff, might be identical with the Senāpati Deva.

[3] P. vibbhajited nydrakkhāya The verb [illegible] seems to be used

strong intention of rescuing his generals — to turn back,
they sent him the following message: "We have fallen here 141
in the midst of Mahāraṭṭha[1] into the power of the enemy;
but our Lord has no other means of power than his extra-
ordinary courage. Even the country folk have turned away 142
from us and are on the side of the foe. But if there
are Lords of exceeding ability, then there is no doubt that 143
by uniting the ocean-girt earth under one umbrella they are
heedful of the furtherance of the laity and of the Order. We 144
to whom this boon belongs, in consequence of which we shall
have the comfort of again beholding the lotus flowers of thy 145
feet, shall be set free by the protector of the castes and of the
hermitages[2]. But (now) thou must give up thy resolve to come
hither." When the Great King heard that, the far-seeing one 146
perceived that even before his march thither ruin would ensue.
Entreated by all his dignitaries with folded hands the discern- 147
ing one turned and betook himself to Vikkamapura[3].

here in a quite peculiar meaning "to be intent upon something". The literal translation of v. 140 would be "they, wishing to cause to return the Ruler who advanced, being intent upon their own protection, sent the message . ." The meaning of the message in this: Give up the plan of rescuing us now. We know that a great king like you will finally gain the victory, and then we will be set free and again join your retinue.

[1] Cf. note to 72. 147.

[2] P. *vaṇṇānaṃ assamānaṃ ca* is here synonymous with the usual *lokasāsana*.

[3] The actions described vv. 121-147 are not easy to understand. The reason probably lies in the fact that the narrator gives as short an account as possible of a series of catastrophes which overtook Parakkamabāhu and which led to complete reversal of the situation. As regards the encirclement of Deva and Kitti in the first place, one would have expected it from the account to have taken place somewhere in hostile territory, in Rohaṇa. What does not agree with this is that the starting-point of the relief should be Jambukola, whether we understand by this Dambul, which I think the more likely, or Dambagolla (note to 70. 72) west of Elahera. The generals themselves speak in v. 141 of Mahāraṭṭha. But that is according to v. 163, a district bordering (eastwards) on the Kālavāpi, if indeed the *mahāraṭṭha-majjhe* in v. 141 altogether contains a proper name, and not an appella-

148 Now when the high dignitaries learned that the Monarch
Mānābharaṇa had come with his whole army to Pulatthina-
149 gara and again marching thence had reached the place called
Giritaṭāka[1] and other matters, they informed the King truth-
150 fully according to the facts, as they had heard them, and
also that the army had been here and there destroyed in
151 fight. They reported further it would be best to march to
Parakkamapura[2] or even to the village called Kalyāṇī[3] to
gather together the army there and then begin the war
152 again. But when the lion-king heard that he answered in
the fire of his wrath, discernible in the fume of his wrinkled
153 brow[4]: "For the fearful I have no use, they may go where
they like. Men like myself possess a great army in the
154 courage of their arms From the King of the gods down-
wards I know none in the three worlds capable so long as I
155 am in life, of crossing the frontier of my realm. A hostile

tive "in the midst of the great province" (i e *Rohaṇa*) The final result of all the military events is clear Parakkamabāhu is forced to give up Pulatthinagara and Rājaraṭṭha and to retire to Dakkhiṇadesa. The first halt is at Vikkamapura The position of the town can be pretty well fixed *It is mentioned v 263 in connection with Kyānagāma* which in its turn occurs next to Mangalabegāma, thus not far distant *from Pulatthinagara.* Vikkamapura must thus have been situated in Janapada. Is it perhaps the name for the town belonging to Sīhagiri?

[1] As Giritaṭāka (now Giritala), lies about 7 miles W N. W. of Pulatthinagara, Mānābharaṇa has thus occupied the capital advancing from E. or S and now advances without delay against the hostile *front* at Vikkamapura

[2] The building of Parakkamapura is first described later 74 15 It was probably a case of rebuilding on an older site Should the town be looked for at the Parakkamasamudda, the reservoir Paṇḍavāpi? *See* 68 40 and note to 60 50

[3] Now Kelaniya at the mouth of the Kelaniganga not far from Colombo. The officers thus advise giving up the fight entirely for the time being and retiring to Dakkhiṇadesa

[4] The reading of the MSS gives no sense In my edition I have followed the Col. Ed. But I should like now to suggest: the reading *bhūbhaṅgadhūmarasīlakkheyyakopaggi paccabhāsi ato* This keeps more closely to the text of the MSS., assumes merely the change of a single letter (r into s) and gives the expected sense.

prince can force his way into the realm ruled by me as little
as a king of elephants into a lion-guarded den. Who would 156
not become a hero when my glance falls on him? If I so
will, boys who still drink milk will fight. In two or three 157
months I shall no longer permit the Ruler Mānābharaṇa to
establish himself in his own province, let alone in Rājaraṭṭha.
It is just for such an occasion which is quite hopeless that 158
the worth of the courage of the arms of heroes of my breed
holds good." In this way he made the discouraged courageous 159
by speaking a self-confident word filled with heroic spirit[1].
Then experienced in warcraft, he sent the Adhikārin Rakkha 160
and the officer (Kitti) the Ādipotthakin[2], forth to take up a
position[3] at the village of Maṅgalabegāma. Hereupon after 161
distributing dignities to people who deserved dignities, the
illustrious one, versed in the right expedients, entrusted the
Mahālekha called Rakkha and the Jīvitapotthakin Mandin, as 162
well as the two brothers, the generals, Saṅkhadhātu and Kitti,
with a great army and he, the mighty one, sent it to Pillaviṭṭhi 163
in Mahāraṭṭha which borders on the Kālavāpi tank to take
possession of it[4]. Likewise the exceeding brave (Prince) placed 164
the Māragiri Nigrodha[5] in Uddhavāpi with an army. In order 165
to carry on the war in this way in different directions he
placed a strong army with officers at various places.

Now the troops stationed in Janapada, skilled in the game 166
of war, offered battle and put to flight at the locality called
Janapada, the Mahālekha called Mahinda who had come hither 167
to fight at the command of Mānābharaṇa, so that his courage
for a renewal of the conflict was broken. To the Lord of 168
men, Parakkama, who while ever bringing forth all kinds of

[1] P. *vīrarasa*, see note to 72. 94.

[2] Cf. 72. 27 together with note.

[3] The theatre of the war is very much the same as in the operations against Gajabāhu described 70. 281 ff.

[4] For Mahāraṭṭha see note to 72. 147. The district is mentioned again twice (v. 190, 199). Pillaviṭṭhi is certainly identical with the Pilaviṭṭhika mentioned 69. 8 (see note to the passage).

[5] See note to 72. 11.

meritorious works in profusion and, like to the King of the
169 gods, enjoying diversion in divers games, sojourned in Nālandā[1], the army sent a report of the events in accord with the truth
170 Thereupon the officers stationed in Pillaviṭṭhi with the Mahālekha Rakkha at the head[2] fought for eight days an
171 embittered battle with Buddhanāyaka[3] and the general Mahā-
172 *māladeva stationed at Kālavāpi, slew many warriors, put the enemy to flight, brought Kālavāpi into their power and freed*
173 it shortly from the briers (of the foe) Then carrying out the instructions of the Lord of men Parakkama, they threw up an entrenchment and remained with the army on the spot
174 The Māragiri Nigrodha stationed at Uddhavāpi, fought
175 *three times, scattered the hostile army and having fortified* the monastery grove at the village called Tannaru, he took up a position there at the command of the Great King
176 The Monarch Mānabharaṇa now granted to the Prince Mahinda a post of honour and a province of considerable
177 extent and spake to him "Take up, marching in the direction of Moravāpi, in order to conquer Dakkhiṇadesa thy position
178 with strong forces in Anuradhapura[4] I will betake myself to Pallavavāla, to march in the direction of Buddhagāma[5]
179 Thus having sent him in advance with a strong army to fair Anurādhapura, he himself took up a position again at the same place[6] in Rājaraṭṭha
180 When the great councillors of the Great King who were stationed in Kālavāpi, learned that Prince Mahinda had betaken

[1] *Nalanda* was thus again Parakkama's headquarters as in the campaigns against Gajabāhu (see 70 167 207)

[2] See above v 161 ff [3] See note to 70 296

[4] For Moravapi see notes to 69 9 70 67 From all the passages in which it is mentioned it is clear that it was situated south of Anuradhapura and west of Kalavapi Manabharana's plan is evidently to turn Parakkamabahu's left flank in order to force him to withdraw his front which threatened Polatthinagara

[5] *See notes to* 58 43 and 66 19

[6] *It is only later that Mānabharaṇa goes to Pallavavala (see v 2?0)* thus *tattha eva* here probably means *Gir?atthe* (a v 149)

himself with large forces to Anurādhapura, they at once, in 181
order to destroy him before he had taken root, entrusted the 182
Mahālekha Rakkha and the Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Kitti[1] with
the charge there and marched themselves with army and train
to the locality called Kāṇamūla, threw up an entrenchment 183
here and took up their position here after they themselves
had left Kālavāpi. When the Great King Parakkama who 184
was skilled in expedients not to be thwarted, heard of this
undertaking and had as expert examined it, (he told the of-
ficers): "As people who do not know the country, ye should 185
not without my order, penetrate into the innermost part of
the district to take up the fight. Such a command he whose 186
commands were like those of Pākasāsana[2], far-seeing and
discerning, issued repeatedly (to the officers). But they hastened 187
thither, neglecting the command of the King and believed in
their folly that they would immediately seize Anurādhapura.
The unhappy ones who themselves discovered not the object 188
and left the King's command unheeded[3], came to the locality
named Kaṭuvandu, ignorant of the localities and without the 189
right precautions, as if desirous of tasting the effects of their
disobedience to the King's command. When they, carrying 190
out their ill-starred undertaking, had penetrated there, their
followers dispersed themselves over the various places in
Mahāraṭṭha. When the Prince Mahinda heard of the affair, 191
he held a council, surrounded them and began the combat,
and owing to the faulty concentration of the army, the Prince 192
Mahinda scattered the whole of the forces on the battlefield.
Completely beaten in this battle, the officers returned to 193
Kālavāpi remembering the neglected royal command. But the 194

[1] See note to 72. 27, as well as to 72. 196.

[2] P. *pākasāsana* = skr. *pākaśāsana* is an epithet of the god Indra. The meaning attached to the word here is probably "whose commands become ripe, i. e. are fulfilled or carried out".

[3] Verse 188 is mutilated in the MSS. as four syllables are missing. The text of the Col. Ed. differs from mine. W. translates thus: "and those among them who were not fortunate would not be advised by the king's message".

Prince (Mahinda) returned to Anurādhapura, collected in haste
195 the division of the army belonging to his province and sent
it off, as he intended taking Kālavāpi with large forces.
When the discerning Ruler (Parakkama) received tidings of
196 this, he sent in haste the Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Bhūta[1] thither
to whom he gave a considerable army consisting only of
197 skilled warriors. They all met there together and three months
198 long the valiant heroes fought bitter battles day by day. Not
neglecting the royal instructions the doughty ones fought a
hard fight and (finally) shattered the *four-membered army* of
199 Mahinda. They took Mahāraṭṭha which bordered on Kālavāpi
and remained at the spot awaiting the command of the King.
200 The Prince (Mahinda) made exultant by his afore mentioned
crafty fight with the people who had transgressed the King's
201 command, came on[2] himself in full armour. An officer who
was stationed at Moravāpi not neglecting the instructions of
202 the far-seeing King, distributed his followers on both sides of
the road and as soon as the hostile army were completely
203 inside (the ambush) he surrounded it on all sides, slew while
204 delivering a terrific action, numerous high officers, vanquished
the Prince and sent many heads of enemies slain on the battle-
field to the King.

205 Hereupon King Parakkamabāhu, a man of terrible courage,
gathered together[3] his army which was distributed in divers
206 places, and in order to drive the Ruler Mānābharaṇa out of
Rājaraṭṭha, he placed the Mahālekha called Rakkha, the
207 Kammanāyaka Añjana[4] and the Ādipotthakin Kitti at Kyānna-
gāma and sent the Adhikārin Rakkha to Maṅgalabegāma.

[1] The title *Bhaṇḍārapotthakin* is also borne by Kitti. See 72. 193 together with the note to 72. 27.

[2] As the mention of Moravāpi shows we have to do here with Mahinda's main thrust against Dakkhiṇadesa announced in v. 177.

[3] By the victory at Moravāpi Parakkamabāhu has done away with the pressure on his left wing (cf. note to v. 177) and can now undertake his action against Pulatthinagara. As to the localities see 70. 281 ff.

[4] See note to 72. 68.

Then he sent his train of hunters, robbers[1] and the like who 208
were skilled in wandering by night in the wildernesses of
forest and mountain, and had many people in divers places 209
slain[2] by them by night and day. Like birds shut up in a
cage[3] the dwellers in Pulatthinagara for long dared not even 210
by day leave their houses and go outside of the gate when
they wanted supplies of water and wood. For the work for 211
which they needed wood each robbed his house completely of
its roof[4] and so destroyed it. In the shops here and there 212
on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were
completely given up. As circulation in all the approaches to 213
the town had been stopped by the King, the whole town
trembled with excitement. Great harassment he caused to the 214
King Mānābharaṇa in that he vexed the town even to the
royal castle. In his great distress the Ruler Mānābharaṇa 215
whose heart was sore weighted with cares, reflected thus:
"If I would betake myself to my province of Rohaṇa the 216
inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha who are there would not permit me
to go thither, to show their affection for the Sovereign 217
Parakkama, if by my taking flight they discover my weakness.
But if I think it is right for me to stay here, that too for 218
me is hard, since day and night I must suffer such hardships.
The best thing for me is to fight a decisive battle with the 219
foe and to suffer the fortune or misfortune that issues from
it." After putting his large four-membered army in fighting 220
trim, he betook himself, his loins girt for combat, to Pallava-
vāla[5]. When thereupon King Parakkamabāhu, who possessed 221

[1] These were probably Väddas who were in the king's retinue. *Kirāta* "hunter" is also used in Skr. to describe savage mountain tribes.

[2] Verses 205-214 form a single sentence which I have split up in the translation into its component parts. The principal verb is *akāsi pīḷaṃ* in 214 which governs directly three "that" sentences with *yathā* 1) v. 209 c-211, 2) v. 212, 3) v. 213. Then to *akāsi* belongs *ghātayanto* in v. 209 a and subordinate are the various gerunds in vv. 205-208.

[3] The same simile in 70. 292.

[4] Lit.: "they made it grassless", i. e. they turned the g. served as roof into fuel and so ruined the whole house.

[5] See above v. 178.

the courage of a lion, and (yet) was wont to act with reflec-
222 tion, heard of all these events, he sent off the Lankāpura,
the two brothers, the generals, and the Lokagalla[1], after
223 instructing them in divers plans of war, in three directions,
as he, the prudent one, intended to separate[2] the hostile army
224 that was marching hither from that direction They betook
themselves with large forces thither and spent a month de-
225 livering day by day a sharp action In his double distress
the Ruler Mānābharaṇa reflected thus "I have left my
entrenched camp and have come hither, desirous of fighting
226 There is no breathing freely for me, my misfortune is deep-
227 rooted and grows at its pleasure day and night Since I have
come hither without tasting the good and the evil that were
my lot in that wilderness[3], I deserve this misfortune hard to
228 be borne And an attempt to come thither[4] again? That is
also hard to carry out, since hostile forces are posted at dif-
229 ferent places on the main road Here in this place where
we are so confined, I may not tarry, since the hostile army
230 is marching from every side towards the centre I will in-
quire of people well acquainted with this part and will march
231 forth by some little known way which they tell me of" Thus
having asked the inhabitants he betook himself by a way
232 told him by them to the village of Konduruva[5]. Thereupon
the Adhikārin Rakkha who, carrying out the command of the
Great King, had taken up a position at the village named
233 Mihiraṇabibbila, had stakes made like spearpoints and had
them bound together driven into the ground in such a way
234 that they were not even to be shaken by elephants Then

[1] The Lankāpura is Kadakkuda (72 39) Who is meant by the Lokagalla we do not know, but the word occurs also as title in 75 138

[2] P *vimukham katukamo* I take *vimukha* here in the meaning of turned in different directions

[3] By the 'wilderness (*vana*) he means his former country, Rohaṇa with which he ought to have been satisfied

[4] Namely to Rohaṇa

[5] There is a Konduruveva S W of Giritale W S W of Pulatthi nagara

outside (of these) he had strong stakes of still greater size
driven in, so that there was no gap and had them interwoven
with wattle-work of branches. Then in the middle (between 235
the two rows of stakes) he had a trench dug twenty to thirty
cubits broad for a distance of a hundred lengths of a man[1].
There he placed sharpened stakes and[2] thorns and also in 236
the ground lying outside he had sharpened sticks driven in
and a hedge of thorns put up, tightly closed and unbroken 237
and between these a trench dug as before. There also he 238
placed sharpened sticks and thorns and outside of the hedge
he had a trench dug which reached to the underground
water[3]. There also he again placed pointed stakes and thorns 239
and outside of the trench he had the big forest felled at a
blow over a tract two or three bowshots in extent, as well 240
as great pits dug beyond this tract on the robber paths[4].
Here again he placed everywhere sharp thorns, had them 241
covered on all sides with sand and withered leaves, and pre- 242
pared (everything) in such a way that at first glance it
looked like a passable road. Then in order to destroy without
remnant the hostile army when it approached this way, he 243
had robber paths made in every direction and posted sharp
shooting archers on them. In the middle of the stockade he 244
built a structure[5] of four storeys and distributed archers about
it at divers places. But in order to entice hither the hostile 245
army (from where it was marching), he sent out two or three
thousand archers who understood shooting by the flash of

[1] The "cubit" (*ratana*) equals 17. 82 inches. Thus the breadth was about 30 to 45 ft. a "man's length" (*porisa*) is about five cubits, that is 89. 10 in. So the length of the trench measured 740 to 745 ft.

[2] I should now prefer the reading *ca* instead of *va*. Also in what follows the stakes always appear along with the thorns. It often happens in the Cūlavs. that *ca* is not enclitic, but stands between the objects which it connects. Cf. v. 238 b.

[3] Thus I interpret *odakantika*. We must assume that it is derived from a skr. *udakānta, audakāntika*. W's view is probably the same.

[4] What is meant are the footpaths leading through the wilderness.

[5] P. *pāsāda*. The passage is characteristic of the general meaning of "structure" given to the word *pāsāda*.

246 lightning[1]. Now when amid a rain of arrows pouring from
all sides the irresistible, terrible hostile army approached,
247 they cunningly feigned as if they had been routed by it and
turned back. When then the others approached in pursuit
248 of them, then suddenly skilled warriors, doughty soldiers,
experienced in the war game, a thousand in number like
249 singly marching elephants[2], made a dash at them and fought
an action, appearing in front of the hostile forces like the
250 army of King Yama[3]. A hail of arrows began to rain on
all sides and the people who stood on the structure began
251 to shoot at those who were on the ground There followed
a hail[4] of stones which hurled from engines, flew[5] here and
252 there vast in size From the burning, sharp-pointed[6] bamboo

[1] P *akkhanavedhino* Cf also JāCo III 322[29], V 129[17] I accept the explanation in JāCo II 91[11] H Kern, Toevoegselen op't Woordenboek van Childers I 69, compares skr *akkhana* "target This seems to me too colourless Moreover Mhvs 23 86 distinguishes the *saddavedhi*, "who shoots according to the sound (without seeing the mark) the *vālavedhī* "who hits a hair and the *vijjuvedhī* "who shoots by the gleam of the lightning To these three categories JāCo V 129[17] adds that of the *saravedhino* who can shoot a second arrow on to the first one already sticking in the target The art is still practised in India I know a young Indian who claims to be both a *vālavedhī* and a *saddavedhi*

[2] I read *paccekahatthino* What is meant are the solitary or rogue elephants who are known for attacking furiously and are therefore much dreaded The word is formed on the *paccekabuddha* model

[3] The god of death In the whole section from v 232 to v 249 *vattesum (samaram)* in 249 is the first and only finite verb We have thus to do with a single sentence The construction meanwhile is not correct. The subject changes *Rakkhadhikārī* in 232 and *vīrā subhaṭā* in 248 An alteration of *pesetva* (246) into *pesesi* would get over the difficulty. I dare not suggest it however, as I believe that irregular sentences with accumulated gerunds are typical of the compiler's style. Cf note to 72 128

[4] *Lit* "a *spreading out* (a broad throwing).

[5] P *pharantānam* The verb *phar* is a favourite one for expressing the flashing of the lightning

[6] *Indian dictionaries give tikṣṇa* "sharp', "pointed" as the meaning of *canda*

rods which cut into single pieces were hurled[1] down there
spread an unbearable heat. With many glowing iron rods 253
which were tied to strings and which they drew up again,
they performed seven days long their terrible deeds. Thus 254
the discerning great dignitaries of the Great King carried on
the combat in accordance with the instruction of their King.
Seized by fear the army of the foe dispersed at once like the 255
wave-crowned flood[2] when it breaks on the ocean's shore.
Thus the army with the Monarch were wiped out on the battle- 256
field as the stars with the moon at the rising of the dawn.

Then at Rajatakedāra day by day for six months in bitter 257
fight they weakened the forces of the foe. The Monarch 258
Mānābharaṇa set about building a stronghold for his sojourn[3]
by making a stockade of thorns. When King Parakkamabāhu, 259
the energetic, the exceeding wise, the lotus-eyed, in his vigi-
lance heard of this proceeding, he thought in his heart: 260
"This plan is clever. If he now sets about building a strong-
hold he must, methinks, as his army is weakened, be about 261
to retire. Now is the right moment to get Mānābharaṇa
entirely into one's power. I also must march thither and it 262
is well if I march, to march in such manner that he notices
nothing, else he will take flight." With this resolve he left 263
Vikkamapura[4] and while feigning that he was going to the
chase, he betook himself to Kyānagāma accompanied by many 264
skilful musicians, who made music on the lute and the flute.
While now the wise Ruler versed in moods, sojourned like 265
Vāsava[5] in that village, he sent a message to the Adhikārin
Rakkha to put his division of the army with all speed in 266
fighting trim and to hold a war festival with the officer of

[1] P. *pavīta*; cf. skr. *pravīta*.

[2] To supplement *kallolamālinī* "bearing waves as wreaths" one must take *vāhinī* as a substantive of more general meaning "flood". *Vāhinī* it should be remembered, generally denotes "river".

[3] I take *sa* in *sasaṃnivesaṃ* as equivalent to the skr. *sva*. W. translates "with an encampment".

[4] The headquarters of Parakkamabāhu, see 72. 147 and note.

[5] A name of the god Indra.

267 King Mānābharaṇa, Buddhanāyaka by name[1] When the
discerning Adhikārin had hearkened carefully to all of the
message sent, he at once carrying out the order of the Great
268 King put his army in readiness, and sent the war practised
(host) forth, which was like to a whirlwind when it scatters
269 cotton, namely the enemy The four-membered army marched
to Rajatakedāra, delivered there till sunset a bitter action,
270 slew Buddhanāyaka and the other officers, put the rest of the
271 army to flight and stayed the night on the spot When the
Sovereign Parakkamabāhu heard of this event the prudent
272 one betook himself to the village called Mihiraṇabibbila[2] He
had fetched the Lankāpura Kadakkuda who was endowed
with extraordinary courage, and the two brothers, the generals
273 "King Mānābharaṇa will certainly to-day in the night take
274 *flight, his heart swayed by great fear, betake yourselves to*
him on his way and cut off his flight", such was the order
275 given them by the discerning (king) While the heavens
without ceasing drizzled and rained, while thickest darkness
276 held sway, these marched in black night, but were not able
to overtake the Monarch Mānabharana on the way who was
fleeing tortured by dread

277 The Monarch Mānābharana had at that time thought thus
278 'In the stronghold occupied to-day by the hostile army, a
terrible noise can be heard like the raging of the vast ocean
279 The hostile king has, methinks, entered the fort If instead
of fleeing, I remain here during the night, to-morrow I shall
280 certainly be delivered helplessly into his hands Without lett-
ing any single one of all my companions know it, I must
281 leave this place ' Racked by fear, with such thoughts he
left his own children in the lurch and while heavy rain
282 streamed down and thick darkness reigned, he hastened hither
and thither, every now and again falling into a deep pit,
stumbling amid the undergrowth of the forest, ever and anon
283 starting with fear his heart filled with terror, to the Mahā-

[1] *See note to* 70 296 as well as below v 270
[2] Cf. Lore x 232

vālukagaṅgā. But fearing that if he fled by a well known
ford, the foe pursuing might take him alive, he crossed the 284
river with difficulty at some unknown ford and regained 285
courage for a moment. But as he had exceeding fear of the
able-bodied inhabitants of the country, he wandered in dis- 286
guise full of terror from village to village and so fleeing came
to his own province stripped of everything[1].

When the warriors of the Great King Parakkamabāhu 287
who were posted at divers places, noticed that King Mānābharaṇa
had departed, then thousands of them joyfully waved their 288
garments[2], they lit around hundreds of thousands of torches,
and while taking the lives of many thousands of warriors, 289
they clapped their hands, shouted with joy, jumped about,
and broke at one swoop from all sides into the great entrench- 290
ment which King Mānābharaṇa had occupied, captured alive 291
the Prince called Sirivallabha who had been left behind and
other great dignitaries, seized the rich treasures scattered here 292
and there of the hostile king, elephants and horses, equipment
and an array of weapons. Having made the necessary ar- 293
rangements for their custody, they all set off in pursuit of the
Ruler Mānābharaṇa, reached in the shortest (possible) time the 294
Mahāvālukagaṅgā, cut to pieces there also a hostile army
down to the last man[3], and having seen to it that the whole 295
river carried[4] along with it naught but flesh and blood, they
were fain to press on farther, resolved not to turn back before
they had captured the Ruler Mānābharaṇa even if they had 296
to march to the ocean[5]. But Parakkamabāhu of the strength-

[1] P. *gativirajjito*. For the meaning of skr. *gati* "resource" s. BR. s. v. nr. 6. W's translation "undisguised" (in contrast to *aññātavesena* in pāda a) is certainly wrong.

[2] Lit. "they instituted thousands of wavings of garments". *Celukkhepa* signifies expression of approval. See JāCo. II. 90[1]; III. 292[12]; Mhvs. 15, App. B, 7.

[3] P. *aparicchinaṃ*, lit. unlimited, unrestricted, complete.

[4] Pun on *vāhinī* with threefold meaning 1) army (294 d), 2) river (295 a), 3) adj. for "carrying with it" (295 b).

[5] The past part. *nikkhantā* takes the place of a finite verb.

297 defying arms, whose commands were scarce to be evaded, gave
them the order not to cross to the other bank of the stream,
298 and thus made them turn back Thereupon King Parakkama-
bāhu, the unvanquished sovereign, put on all his ornaments
299 and surrounded by his army, with Prince Sirivallabha in front,
he filling the heavens with great rejoicings of victory, enter-
300 ed the fair city of Pulatthinagara, even as the King of the
gods (entered) the city of the gods after his victory in the
battle with the asuras[1]

301 Now the Monarch Mānābharaṇa by reason of a disease
caused by his fear of Prince Parakkama had come to the end
302 of his life force As he lay there on his bed, near to death,
enmeshed in misery amongst his wives who wailed with out-
303 spread arms, he had Prince Kittisirimegha and yet other high
304 dignitaries fetched and spake these words "Rich treasures,
that sacrificed to the venerable Tooth Relic and to the sacred
305 Alms-bowl by believing sons of good family, and besides these
divers villages belonging to the bhikkhu order have I seized
306 and destroyed, swayed by the lust for kingly power Now I
lie on that bed from which there is no rising Whence shall
I find salvation from hell[2], if by death I unwillingly quit
307 this world Go thou, without ruining thyself as I (have ruined)
myself, to the Sovereign Parakkama, do that which he orders
308 thee and live devoted to him as he shall direct thee" After
309 these words he wept more distressfully and entered the dwell-
ing of god Yama difficult of approach, as if he wished to
betake himself to a territory which lay not in the realm of
the good soldiers of the Great King Parakkama

[1] *In the Devanagari inscription line 13/14* Parakkamabāhu mentions his war with Gajabahu After this name an illegible space of about seven akkharas is following and then we read *dedcha* (instead of *dedenā hi) yuddha kota* having made war with the two [princes] Gajabahu and It is very probable that we have to supply after *Gajabāhu* the name of *Manābharana* See H C P Bell, Report on the Kegalla District (1892) p 74 5

[2] There are four *apāya* or possibilities of rebirth for the sinner — 1) in hell 2) as animal 3) in the world of ghosts 4) in the world of demons

When King Parakkamabāhu who had captivated all those 310
of good disposition without exception, heard that King Mānā-
bharaṇa was dead, he had the Prince Kittisirimegha fetched
thence. Then the great dignitaries met together and with 311
clasped hands prayed the Ruler to celebrate the festival of the
king's consecration[1]. At a favourable moment and under a lucky 312
star the Ruler (now) without rivals held the happy festival
of the coronation. The loud noise of the divers kinds of 313
drums was then terrible as the raging of the ocean when
lashed by the storm wind of the destruction of the world.
Elephants equipped with gilded armour made the royal road 314
look as if it were traversed by lightning-flashing cloud moun-
tains. The whole town in which the colours of the horses[2] 315
gave rise, as it were to waves, was in agitation like the ocean.
By the variegated umbrellas and wreaths and the rows of gol- 316
den flags the heavens were hid as it were, on all sides. Gar- 317
ments were shaken and fingers snapped[3], the inhabitants of
the town sent forth the cry: Live (o King)! live! Covered 318
with arches of bananas and thickly studded with jars and
wreaths the whole universe consisted of a mass of festivals[4].
Songs of praise were heard hymned by many hundreds of 319
singers and the smoke of (kindled) aloe wood filled the firma-
ment. Clad in many-coloured garments, adorned with divers 320
ornaments[5] and bearing sundry weapons in their hands,
practised warriors strutted around here and there with well- 321
rounded limbs goodly to look at with their heroic forms, like

[1] Cf. above 71.19, in which the first consecration as king is described, the effect of which seems to have disappeared, since Parakkamabāhu had for a time to evacuate Rājaraṭṭha and Pulatthinagara.

[2] Pun on *turaṅga, raṅga, taraṅga.* The dark-coloured horses are like the waves, the light-coloured ones their crowns of foam.

[3] Lit.: "The shaking of clothes took place (see note to 72.288) and finger-snapping took place".

[4] P. *nekamaṅgalaṃ* (*āsi*). If the reading *sakalan-tv-ekamaṅgalaṃ* could be reconciled with the MSS. the sense, undoubtedly good, would be: the universe was a single, vast festival.

[5] The *ābharaṇāni* "ornaments" were bestowed on them by the king for their bravery, corresponding to our medals.

322 rutting elephants. The many thousands of archers with their bows in their hand made it look as if the army of the gods
323 trod the earth. Filled with hundreds of state chariots[1] of gold, jewels and pearls the town looked like the starry firma-
324 ment. While the mighty King whose eye was large as a lotus flower, thus performed a long series of marvellous things,
325 he ascended himself, adorned with a wealth of ornament, to the golden baldachin that rested on a couple of elephants
326 covered with golden cloths, wearing on his head a diadem sparkling with the brilliance of its jewels, like to the eastern
327 mountain when it bears the rising sun, vanquishing the fairness of the spring by the power of his own fairness and making moist the eyes of the women in the town by the
328 water of their tears of joy Thus beamed on by auspicious signs, after he had encircled the town with his right side turned towards it, he entered like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) into the beautiful royal palace.

329 While thus as ruler of the middle world[2], he filled the chief and the intermediary regions of the heavens with festive glory, King Parakkamabāhu, the excellent ruler of the universe, carried out the second consecration as king in the second year (of his reign).

Here ends the seventy-second chapter, called "The Description of the festival of the Royal Consecration", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] P *vimāna* I do not think that the word means "palace" here, but rather that it is equivalent to *ratha* (cf PTS. P. D s v. *vimāna* with detailed explanation of the term) What is meant are the chariots taking part in the processions with their sparkling ornaments of gold and precious stones

[2] The King is here made an equal of the four (or eight) *lokapālā*, the rulers of the heavenly regions of whom he appears as the central figure

Additions and Corrections

(Ed. = edition, Tr. = translation)

37.79 Ed. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.

37.103 Ed. Put: after ratanamaṇḍapaṃ.

37.114 Ed. Read: »nāgo rogīti nicchayaṃ«.

37.202 Ed. We have probably to read: cātuddasiṃ pañcadasiṃ yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhamī.

37.206 Ed. Read: coraṃ rattiyam, uggate &c.

38.3 Ed. Read: chattagāhakajantuno.

38.29 Ed. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi tatiye, tassa bhātuko &c.

38.65 Ed. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṅgalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno || &c.

38.68 Tr. Add in the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvaṃsa not the Buddhist yojana but the common Indian yojana is meant which has the double length (a little more than 9 miles). See PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.

38.79 Ed. Expunge the ? after nidassitaṃ and put it after samattho.

38.88 Ed. Read: °kule instead of °kūle.

41.33 Ed. Read: Puratthimaṃ instead of pur°.

41.82 Ed. Read: gahetvā khipi; tīh' evaṃ aṅgulīhi sa taṃ chupi.

41.96 Ed. Read: Uttare instead of utt°.

42.67 Tr. Add in the note: The Giritaṭa is the present Giritalaveva, and the Gaṅgātaṭa the present Kantalai lake. Cf. the notes to 70. 286, 312.

44.56 Ed. Read: Janapadaṃ instead of jan°.

44.71 Ed. Read: Uttaraṃ inst. of utt°.

44.90 Ed. Read: sakkā hantuṃ ti dārakaṃ«.

47.66 Ed. Read on p. 89[2]: tatth' eva instead of tath' eva.

48.66 Tr. Add in note 4, line 8 after °gehāni: (Cf. Ceylon Journal of Science I, p. 145 ff.).

49.17 f. Ed. Read: paṭimāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c'eva vihāre ca anappake.

49.78 Ed. Expunge the full stop after avalokiya.

49 81 Ed Expunge the comma after *sādhukam*
50 34 Ed Read Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaṇṇaṃ &c
50 48 Ed Read 'samo instead of samo
51 88 Ed Read Kutthaka° instead of Tuṭṭhaka°
54 57 Ed Read rajam instead of rājā
59 2 Ed. Read »Abhisekamangalattham pāsādādim anekakam kiccam &c.
59 49 Ed Read. Sundarivham instead of Sunārivham
61 4 Ed Read 'khilā instead of khilā
61 36 Ed We have probably to read Ariyadesīso
61 40 Ed Read saṃgāmam tena rājinā
61 53 Ed Read te 'khīnatosā instead of te khīna°
65 6 Ed Read Patiladdha° instead of Patiladdha°
66 26 Ed Read kumaram instead of kumāram
66 59 Ed I propose reading ten' ato instead of te tato
66 80 Ed Read Ranamburam instead of Ratamb°
66 143 Ed Read °opāya° instead of °opaya°
70 54 Ed Read Rājaraṭṭham instead of rāja°
70 98 Ed Read Ambavanam instead of Ambuv°
70 103 Ed Read Janapadam instead of jana°
70 112 and 120 Ed Read gangā° instead of Gangā°
70 161 Ed Read vasī karita° instead of vasīkarita°.
72 58 Ed Read Arakkha° instead of ārakkha°
72 106 Ed Expunge the » « before and after sāvadhāranaṃ
72 121 2 Ed Put at the end of v 121 and » at the beginning of v 122
72 127 Ed Expunge » before sakalārātivāhinī
72 170 Ed Read Kālavāpiyam instead of Kāla°

Genealogical Tables

(See J. Still, Index to the Mahawansa, p. 79 ff.; Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 184, II, p. 58)

I

From Sirimeghavaṇṇa to the Chattaggāhaka

Mahāsena

1. Sirimeghavaṇṇa 37. 53 — brother? 37. 100

brother? 37. 100
→ 2. Jeṭṭhatissa II 37. 100
→ 3. Buddhadāsa 37. 105

3. Buddhadāsa
→ 4. Upatissa I 37. 179
→ 5. Mahānāma 37. 209

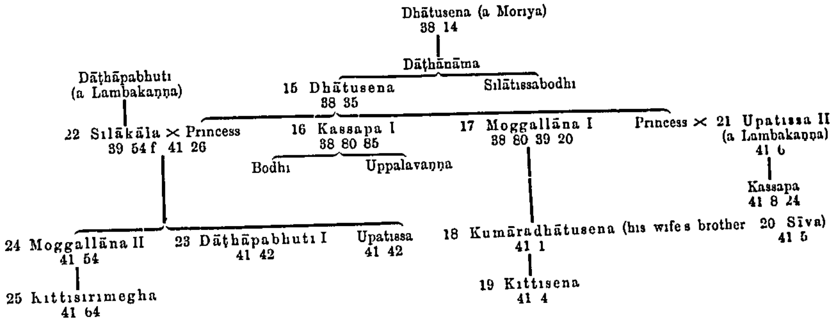
5. Mahānāma
→ 6. Sotthisena 38. 1, 2
→ Saṃghā married to the 7. Chattaggāhaka 38. 3

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8. Mittasena to 14. Pīṭhiya
38. 4—34

II

From Dhātusena to Kittisirimegha



III[a]

From Mahānāga to Aggabodhi II

Bhayasīva
Aggabodhi
41. 70, 93
Uparāja
of Mahanāga

Sister of Bhayasīva
26. Mahānāga
41. 70, 91
Sister of M.
41. 74
Brother of M.
42. 6
Uparāja
Aggabodhi's I

Prince
41. 93

27. Aggabodhi I
42. 1
Dāṭhā
42. 10

Princess
28. Aggabodhi II
42. 6, 38, 40

Prince
42. 6
Yuvarāja

III[b]

Samghatissa and his successor

29. Saṃghatissa
asiggāha
44. 1

Prince
44. 13, 35

33. Jeṭṭhatissa II
44. 28, 95

Prince
44. 24

IV

From Silāmeghavanna to Udaya I

Senāpati of (29) Saṃghatissa
- 31 Silāmeghavaṇṇa Asiggāha[1] 44 8, 65
  - 32 Aggabodhi III SSB[2] 44 83, 118
  - Māna 44 123
  - 35 Kassapa II 44, 124, 137, 144
    - Mānaka? = 41 Mānavamma 45 6; 47. 1, 62
      - 42 Aggabodhi V 48 1
      - 43 Kassapa III 48 20
        - Princess
          - Dappula (2) 48 90, 117
        - 45 Aggabodhi VI SM 48 42
          - 47 Mahinda II 48 76
            - 48 Udaya I 49 1
          - Saṃghā (2) 48 54
      - 44 Mahinda I ādipāda 48 26
        - 46 Aggabodhi VII 48 39, 68
          - Mahinda 48 69, 75
  - Princess × 36 Dappula 45 36, 80 (son of Mahātissa of Rohaṇa 45 38)
    - Mānavamma? = Māna 45 52; 45 8, 11, 79

[1] His predecessor was 30 Moggallāna III, Senāpati of Aggabodhi II (44. 2, 22)

[2] His successors were 33 Jeṭṭhatissa II and 34 *Dāṭhopatissa I* (s. III[b], V).

V

Collateral Line

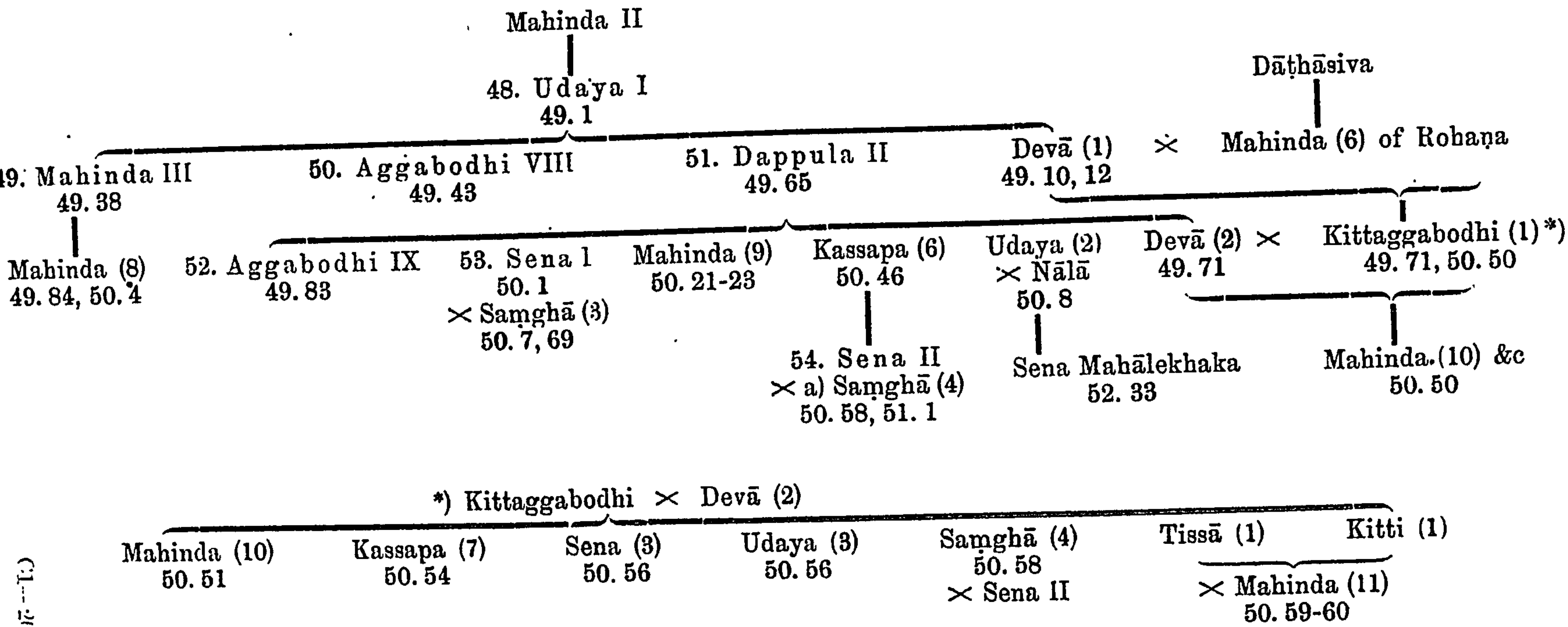
Dāṭhāsiva = 34 Dāṭhopatissa I 44 88, 128

Sister of D
- Hatthadāṭha = 37 Dāṭhopatissa II 44 154, 45 22
- 38 Aggabodhi IV SSB[1] 46 1

[1] His successors were 39 Datta (46 41) and 40 Hatthadāṭha (46. 45) Then 41. Mānavamma (see IV) ascends the throne.

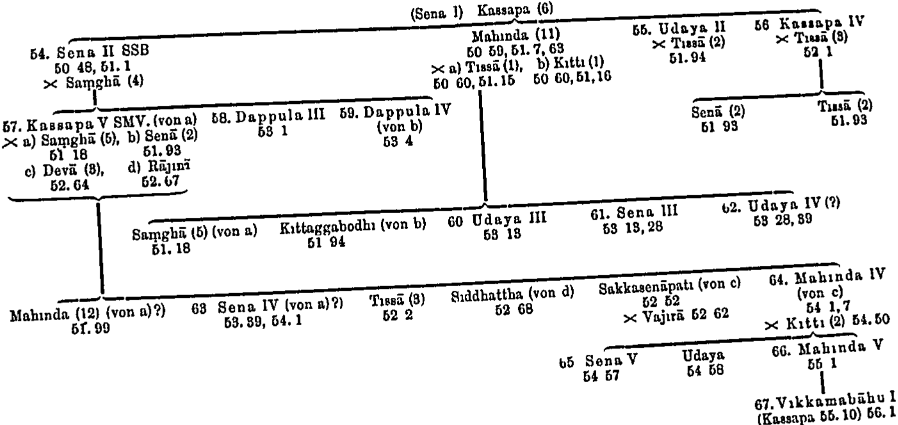
VI

From Udaya I to Sena II



VII

From Sena II to Vikkamabahu I



VIII

From Vikkamabāhu I to Vijayabāhu I

Brother of Kitti — Kitti × Mahinda IV

Mahinda IV → Mahinda V → Kassapa = 67. Vikkamabāhu I 57. 28 (55. 10) 56. 1

Brother of Kitti → Devalā 57. 27; Lokitā 57. 27

Lokitā × Kassapa = 67. Vikkamabāhu I

Bodhi × Buddhā
aus dem Geschlecht des Dāṭhopatissa

Bodhi × Buddhā → Lokitā 57. 41

Vikkamabāhu I → Moggallāna 57. 29, 41, 42; Loka 57. 29

Lokitā × . . . . × Moggallāna

Lokitā × Moggallāna → Kitti = 74. Vijayabāhu I[1]; Mittā; Mahinda; Rakkhita

[1] Kings between Vikkamabāhu I and Vijayabāhu I were 68. Kitti, 69. Mahālānakitti, 70. Vikkamapaṇḍu, 71. Jagatīpāla, 72. Parakkamapaṇḍu I, 73. Loka (56. 7—57. 2).

IX

Vijayabāhu's I Family

74. Vijayabāhu I
× a) 1. Līlāvatī 59. 25
× b) Tilokasundarī 59. 29

a) 1. Līlāvatī → Yasodharā × Vīravamma 59. 27

Yasodharā × Vīravamma →
- 2. Līlāvatī 59. 28 × Vikkamabāhu II 59. 50
- Sugalā 59. 28 × 1. Sirivallabha 59. 45

b) Tilokasundarī →
- a) Subhaddā × Vīrabāhu 59. 43
- b) Sumittā × Jayabāhu 59. 43
- c) Lokanāthā × Kittisirimegha 59. 44
- d) Ratanāvatī × 1. Mānābharaṇa 59. 44
- e) Rūpavatī died 59. 45
- f) Vikkamabāhu II
  - × a. Sundarī 59. 49
  - × b. Līlāvatī 59. 50

X

Descent of Parakkamabāhu I

- 4 Moggallāna × 2 Lokitā 57 29, 41
  - 74 Vijayabāhu I SSB[1]
    - 76 Vikkamabāhu II 61 8, 62, 1
      - 77. Gajabāhu 60 88, 63 19
      - Anīkanga 61 40
      - 16 Mahinda 62 59, 72 46 ff
  - Vīrabāhu 59 11, 60 86
  - 75 Jayabāhu I 60 87, 61 5, 62 1
  - 1 Mittā × Paṇḍurāja 59 41, 62 1
    - 1 Mānābharaṇa (Vīrabāhu) 59 42, 61 26 62 67 × Ratanāvalī 59 44
      - 2 Mittā
      - Pabhāvatī
        - (2 Mittā and Pabhāvatī) × 2 Mānābharaṇa 63 16 64 24
      - Bhaddavatī × Gajabāhu 66 147
      - 78 Parakkamabahu I × Rūpavatī 73 142 × 3 Līlāvatī 80 81
    - 2. Kittisirimegha 59 42, 67 87 × Lokanāthā 59 44
    - 1 Sirivallabha 59 42, 64 18 × Sugalā 59 45
      - 2 Mānābharaṇa 64 19 × Mittā 63 16 × Pabhāvatī 64 24
        - 2 Sirivallabha (von 1) 72 291
        - 3 Kittisirimegha (von 2) 64 24, 72 303
      - 3 Līlāvatī

[1] See Table IX

Supplementary Notes

1) Introduction, p. XXII. Mr. A. M. Hocart, C. J. Sc. G. II, p. 34 refers to the part played by the sister's son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur. "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer."

2) Introduction, p. XXV ff. I wish to direct the reader's attention to the inscriptions on the pillars of King Nissaṅka Malla's "Council Chamber" in Polonnaruva. They supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king's right hand there sat 1) the *mahādipāda*, 2) the *ādipādas*, 3) the *senāpati*, 4) the *adhikāras* (principle chiefs), 5) the Chief Secretary (*mahālekha*); — and on his left side 1) the *maṇḍalikas* (governors of the provinces), 2) the eighty four (chiefs of smaller districts), 3) the heads of the merchants. — The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 *sāmantā* appointed by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa, Mhvs. 69. 16. — See H. W. Codrington, JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1924, p. 304 ff.; the same, HC. p. 68.

3) 37. 213 (p. 22, n. 4) The Dhūmarakkha is situated on the right bank — not left bank — of the Mahaveliganga. It is, no doubt, identical with the Dimbulāgala-kanda, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", near Mahagantota (ancient Kacchakatittha), E. of Polonnaruva. In my Transl. of the Mahāvaṃsa, p. 72, n. 1 and p. 289—90 must be corrected accordingly. H. Storey, C. A. L. R. III. 3, p. 229.

4) 53. 30. For the daily ritual in the Dalada-Maligava, Kandy, see Arthur A. Perera, C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f.

5) For the identification of the topographical names in ch. 66 &c. I refer also to H. Storey, Parákrama Báhu the Great, C. A. L. R. VII. 1, p. 17 ff.

List of Abbreviations

A. = Aṅguttara Nikāya (ed. PTS.).
Abhp. = Abhidhānappadīpikā.
AIC. = Ed. Müller, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, 1883.
Ann. Rep. = Annual Report.
ASC. = Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
BR. = Böhtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
C. A. L. R. = Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
C. J. Sc. G. = Ceylon Journal of Science, Sect. G.
Col. Ed. = Colombo Edition of the "Mahawansa from the thirty-seventh Chapter", 1877.
D. = Dīgha Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
Dh. = Dhammapada (ed. PTS.)
DhCo. = Dhammapada Commentary (ed. PTS.)
EI. = Epigraphia Indica.
EZ. = Epigraphia Zeylanica (ed. Wickremasinghe).
HC. = H. W. Codrington, A Short History of Ceylon, 1926.
Jā. = Jātaka.
JāCo. = The Jātaka together with its Commentary, ed. Fausböll, 1877 ff.
JAs. = Journal Asiatique.
JPTS. = Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS. C. Br. = Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch.
Kh. = Khuddaka Pāṭha, together with its Commentary, ed. Helmer Smith (PTS.), 1915.
LSI. = Linguistic Survey of India (Sir George Grierson).
M. = Majjhima Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
Mem. = Memoirs (of the ASC.)
Mhbh. = Mahābhārata.
Mhvs. = Mahāvaṃsa.
Milp. = Milindapañha ed. Trenckner, 1880.
Nett. = Nettipakaraṇa (ed. PTS.)
Nik.-s. = Nikāyasaṅgraha (ed. Wickremasinghe).
P. = Pāli.
Pieris 1 = Ceylon, the Portuguese Era, by P. E. Pieris, 2 Bde. 1913—4.
Pieris 2 = Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505—1658, by P. E. Pieris, 1920.
Pieris 3 = Ceylon and the Hollanders 1658—1796 by P. E. Pieris, 1924.
PTS. = Pali Text Society.
PTS. P. D. = The PTS.'s Pali Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede.
Pūjāv. = A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the "Pūjāvaliya", 1893.
Pv. = Petavatthu (ed. PTS.)

Rājaratn = Rajaratnākaraya or History of Ceylon, ed Saddhananda, 1887

Rājāv = The Rájavaliya, ed by B Guṇasékara, 1899, — transl by the same, 1900

Rām = Rāmāyaṇa

S = Samyutta Nikāya (ed PTS)

S and B = SUMANGALA and BATUWANTUDAWA, editors of Mhvs, Col Ed — The same, Mhvs transl (into Sinhalese) 1917

Ṣn = Suttanipāta (ed PTS)

SMV = Silāmeghavaṇṇa

S P = Sessional Papers

SSB = Sirisamghabodhi

Thag = Theragāthā (ed PTS)

Thīg = Therīgāthā (ed PTS)

Vin = Vinaya Piṭaka, ed OLDENBERG

Vv = Vimānavatthu (ed. PTS)

W = The Mahávaṇsa, part II, containing Chapters XXXIX to C, by L C WIJESINHA

ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie · Iranistik